



THE
LIVES
OF THE
Twelve Cæſars,

Written in LATIN by

C. Suetonius Tranquillus.

Translated into ENGLISH, with Explanatory NOTES, by Mr. HUGHES.

Adorn'd with CUTS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

THE SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N:

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THE
EVIDENCE

Twelve O'clock

C. Zuercher, T. Zimmermann



RECEIVED OCT 11 1964

1. The first of these is the fact that the
the first of these is the fact that the



T O

JOHN DUNCOMBE

Fun. Esq;

S I R,



I **KNOW** not how it is,
but ever since I first had
the Happiness of Your
Acquaintance, there ap-
pear'd Something so ami-
able in Your Conversa-
tion; that it gave me the
highest Pleasure, and an irresistible Desire
of declaring the undissembled Affection I
bore You, if I cou'd; in some Publick
Manner. I have also embrac'd this Op-
portunity the more readily, because
tho' what I offer You is a Trifle,

A 2

Your

THE DEDICATION.

Your Goodness will overlook the Meanness of the Present, and accept the sincere Intention from which it comes.

A graceful Deportment and a Politeness of Manners are very Ornamental in a Gentleman; but neither these, nor Vivacity of Wit, nor Learning, and much less mere Riches and Birth can, of themselves, impart the truest Dignity and Merit. It is from the more essential Qualifications, a benevolent Spirit, a noble Integrity and Truth, and a serious Regard to the most valuable Thing in the whole World, I mean Religion, that his Character is made compleat, and he becomes a good Neighbour, an excellent Relation, and an useful Friend.

That You are eminently possess'd, therefore, of these necessary Endowments, is a far higher Commendation, than that You have improv'd the Understanding and good Sense to which You were born, by the Knowledge of Letters, and added to this the genteel Accomplishments of fine Breeding.

The Native Felicity of Your Temper is such, that all the complacent Acts of Friendship, and the Offices arising from the several Conditions of Life, are perform'd by You as well from the sweet Propensities of a benign Disposition, as from Principle: by which You justly partake
in

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in the Satisfaction you excite in others, and taste a Joy which a generous Nature only can experience; and from which those are deservedly excluded, who can view the Distresses of their Fellow-Creatures with a detested Apathy, and wou'd rather contribute to impair their Happiness, than to advance it.

How exactly You fulfil the Duties of a Son, Your worthy Father is a surviving Witness; and Your indulgent Care of Your own tender Offspring cannot fail to imprint the deepest Filial Respect and Gratitude upon their Mind: And, tho' the dear Object of it can no more speak the Praises of Your Conjugal Affection, You have a most sincere Evidence within; and that beautiful Aptness to feel again the Freshness of former Grievs, declares how much her lovely Memory still dwells in that Heart of which She was once the living Joy.

While You have so many engaging Qualities, the virtuous Self-Negligence and Disregard, by which You overlook them in Your self, and freely discern and admire them in any other, heightens them extremely, and casts a particular Lustre upon the Whole.

The Track of Life You have chosen to pursue, is indeed retir'd from the Hurry and Incumbrance of Publick Stations; but Your Personal Abilities and true Zeal for the

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the present happy Establishment, render You every Way capable of executing them advantageously to Your Country, and You have given an Instance of it by discharging with so much Approbation the honourable Office You lately bore.

As I am conscious of my own Sincerity, I have no Apprehension that what I have said will be deem'd merely an Address of Form; for there are inimitable Marks and Circumstances in Truth, which distinguish it from Fiction. And I thought this Way to express my grateful Resentments wou'd be the most inoffensive, because while a Man speaks in a Dedication, he is in such a sort absent, that the ingenuous Uneasiness which would be mutually occasion'd by praising a Friend to his Face, is happily prevented.

I am,
SIR,
Your most Affectionate, and
Obedient Humble Servant,

JABEZ HUGHES.

THE
PREFACE.

TH O' most Men are invited to read Histories, rather from Curiosity than from a Design to become Wiser or Better; it is probable, they may, in the Conclusion, find themselves not only entertain'd agreeably, but also improv'd. A profess'd Treatise of Ethics, carries in it a Severity which very few have good Disposition and Sense enough to overcome; and this Aversness makes us apt to neglect such Writings, and to call in Question the Assertions: But History addressing us with a more amiable Aspect, insensibly leaves a wholesome Impression upon the Mind, and, by representing real Facts, will not suffer us to dispute its Subject. If the Affairs also are remote, and such as in their immediate Consequences affect neither our selves nor Friends, we shall judge impartially, and view Things in their true and proper Light; which the Prejudice of our Passions, and Self-Love, wou'd not permit us to do, if we apprehended our selves interest'd in them. On this Account, the Antient Historians are likely to be

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most favourably receiv'd, and are best qualify'd to perform the double Service of *amusing at our Delight and Profit.*

Of the several Sorts of History, Biography is perhaps most adapted to answer this Design: For tho' the General History of a Nation, being more extended, and necessarily comprehending in it a far greater Number and Variety of Events, may for the same Reason promise a higher Pleasure, and more diversify'd Entertainment to the Reader; yet the other, by being restrain'd within a narrower Limit, has this particular Advantage, that the Series of the Action is embrac'd by the Understanding with greater Ease, and the Instructions which arise from the most remarkable Occurrences in the Life of a single Person, are more directly and naturally apply'd, than when our Attention is dispers'd thro' the Affairs of a whole People. For in a General History we seem to be less affected in the Issue; the Multitude and Confusion of the Persons abates our Concern, and sets their Calamities and good Fortune at a remoter Distance from our selves: Whereas in reading thro' the Life of one Man, we as it were contract an Acquaintance and Friendship with him as the Story proceeds, and are touch'd intimately with the Vicissitudes of his Condition. The Writer is also at Liberty to insert many smaller Circumstances, and familiar Sayings, and Passages in Private, which discover a Man's real Temper and Sentiments more certainly than his publick Behaviour, where the Eyes of the World are upon him;

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him; and to enter into the Reasons of Actions more particularly than the Severity of a General History will allow. We have an Example of this in Polybius, who is very large in unfolding the Causes and Councils which gave Rise to the Actions he relates, and in his Observations upon the Nature and Influence of the Events: And tho' his Digressions of this Kind are excellent, and shew great Understanding and Penetration, yet the main Subject is so much interrupted by them, that the Reader is apt to consider them as so many Stops in his Progress, and to be impatient till the History is resum'd.

I will not determine what Method and Rules ought to be observ'd by a Biographer, or who has succeeded best in that Manner of Writing; but shall confine my self to the Character of Suetonius in particular, a new Translation of whom is now offer'd to the Reader.

It is a Witty Remark of Jerom's upon him, that he has written the Lives of the Emperors with the same Liberty as they liv'd them; and therefore, after his own Example, I shall speak of him impartially, praising him freely on the one Hand, and as freely mentioning his Defects on the other: for it is unreasonable to imagine, that a Man by translating an Author, puts himself under an Obligation to magnify his good Qualities extravagantly, and to justify or deny his Faults.

Suetonius liv'd in the Reigns of five or six Emperors at least, and was born, perhaps, in that of Vespasian, since he speaks of himself as a

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* Young Men when the Counterfeit Nero appear'd, which being twenty Years after Nero's Death, must fall about the Middle of Domitian's Reign. His Father, whose Cognomen was *Lenis*, was, as he tells us in the Life of *Otho*, a Tribune of the Equestrian Order in the Tenth Legion, and fought under *Otho* in his last Battle against *Vitellius*. He was at first appointed to a Military Employment, to which his Father, it is likely, might design him by his Education; but not fancying that Method of Life, he quitted it for the Practice of the Law. Upon this the younger *Pliny*, with whom he had an intimate Friendship, made it his Request to *Trajan*, that *Suetonius* might have the *Jussum Liberorum*, which gave a Pleader in the Roman Forum several uncommon Privileges, confer'd upon him. This shows the extraordinary Affection *Pliny* bore him; because he knew the Favour he ask'd, was very sparingly granted by the Emperor, and that *Suetonius* not being legally qualify'd for it, as having no Children, *Trajan* would be the more overse to allow it. But *Pliny* was no less in Grace with *Trajan*, than *Suetonius* was with him, and so the Request succeeded.

Under *Adrian*, *Suetonius* was promoted to be his Secretary; but the Empress *Sabina* falling into Disgrace, he, with some others, took too large

* Page 400 he calls himself *Adulescens*, and Pag. 493 *Adulescentulus*.

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large a Liberty in reflecting upon her, thinking to make his Court by it to the Emperor; but he had the Misfortune to mistake Adrian's secret Inclinations, and instead of pleasing, disoblige'd Him, and was remov'd from Publick Business.

Of all his Works this appears to have been the principal, and to have come most compleat to our Hands; tho' the Life of Julius Cæsar is certainly imperfect at the Beginning, notwithstanding all the Reasons Calanbon assigns to prove the contrary. For there is not only no Account in it of Cæsar's Descent and Family, according to Suetonius's perpetual Custom, which is a very singular Omission, and sufficient of it self to support the Remark; but also Nothing is said about the Birth of Cæsar, under what Consuls, and in what Place he was born; concerning which last Circumstances, we find him in other Lives rather too minutely particular: Nor is there any Mention of his Infancy and Youth, or any of his Actions till the Seventeenth Year of his Age. And this makes it open more abruptly than the Life of Galba would do, if the first two Paragraphs had been wanting. The Paragraph therefore which is now the first of Cæsar's, undoubtedly began, *Annum agens, &c.* and the preceding Introduction being lost, the Words *Julius Cæsar Divus* have been supply'd, to compleat the Sense. For I don't remember an Instance of Suetonius's expressing the Nominative Case in this Manner at the Head of a Paragraph, after some Part of the Person's Story

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Story was past, as in the present Case it manifestly is.

In the Epistle which Pliny wrote on his Behalf to Trajan, he has given Suetonius the Character of a Man perfectly honest and of good Sense, and who had fallen into the same Course of Studies with himself. And as the placing the Merit of an Author upon a false Foundation, is not a Way to do him Service, it cannot be prejudicial to Suetonius to say that they have commended him from mistaken Topics, who represent him, in the Work before us, as a correct and elegant Writer; whereas it is plain, he is rather distinguish'd by his Integrity and impartial Report of Things, which is a most essential Qualification in an Historian, and to which all others, how valuable soever, are subordinate. For upon this the Certainty of all History depends, which without it will become a Fiction of the most pernicious Kind; because it imposes a Falseness under the Appearance of Truth, and thereby introduces a general Doubt and Scruple concerning the Records of former Times. Suetonius is so punctual in his Relation, that he leaves us no Ground to suppose, he did not think himself well assur'd of all he has inserted, or that he has omitted any thing out of Adulation or Prejudice. He also expresses himself with such evident Equity and Temper, that every one who reads him will easily perceive it. He praises and censures, and reports the good and bad Actions of the Emperors without Passion or Flattery, and seems to consider himself

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himself only as a Narrator, and not as a Party. And from this an Observation may be made, which will very well deserve to be consider'd by an Englishmen in particular. The Memory of Augustus Caesar was held in the highest Veneration by the Romans, and they esteem'd him as their Second Founder, and an admirable Pattern of a Wise and Excellent Prince; yet Suetonius mentions his Vices, his Cruelties, and the Blemishes and Male-Conduct of his Reign openly and without Reserve; nor do we find the People, or the Emperor under whom he liv'd, ever condemn'd him, or thought ill of him for it. For tho' the Romans were then extremely departed from the Virtues of their Ancestors, and were plung'd in a shameful Corruption and Baseness of Manners, yet they had still so much Sense remaining, that an Historian might describe the Faults of any Great Men or Emperors of former Times, without Danger of making himself Enemies, and being branded with invidious Names. The Civil Wars had undoubtedly involv'd the most considerable Families in their Consequences, and the Extravagancies and Oppressions of several Emperors had brought them to an unnatural End; some being destroy'd by their Domesticks, and others expell'd by open Arms, and the Senate and People approv'd and ratify'd the Deed. But the Romans never apprehended themselves involv'd in the Guilt of Actions, in which they had had no Hand; nor did they proceed to charge and exasperate one another with the Miscarriages and

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and Errors of preceding Times, and preserve an eternal Flame of Discord and Hatred among themselves on this Account. In which, the Behaviour of the Romans and our own Countrymen under Circumstances much alike, is remarkably different, and the Conclusion from it is very easily apply'd. In the Reign also of the Worst and most Tyrannical of the Cæsars, we have no Instance of Writers exerting themselves against the Laws, or of Historians magnifying those Parts of a Prince's Life, which were most injurious and fatal to the Republick.

As Suetonius has shewn an extraordinary Fidelity in his Relation, for which he deserves to be highly esteem'd, it were to be wish'd he had been more exact and careful in his Method and Style; the first of which especially, is so necessary to a just Apprehension of the Story, that it ought by no means to be neglected. For the Method in which he has chosen to dispose his History is irregular; since instead of passing from one Action to another, according to the Order in which they happen'd, he relates those which are of one Kind all at once without Interruption, before he proceeds to another. Thus he casts the Wars, the Examples of Injustice and Cruelty, or of Equity and Mercy of an Emperor, together in one continu'd Series; by which the History is disturb'd, and Things which are very distant, are brought equally forward upon the same Line in a common View, while many which lay between are thrown behind. He is so fair indeed, as to give the Reader
express

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express Warning of this ; but that does not prevent the ill Effects of this injudicious Conduct. It may indeed sometimes be convenient to anticipate the Relation of a particular Passage in a Life ; but Suetonius has so much disregarded the Sequel of Time thro' his whole Work, that he introduces a Confusion, and leads a Reader who is not aware, into a Miscalception of Things, or at best obliges him to have Recourse to some regular Authors, if he would know the Situation of those Actions according to their natural Order.

Biography being a more familiar and easy Sort of History, the Style of it shou'd be less rai'd and solemn, than that which a general Historian seems oblig'd to preserve ; yet it ought not to be left as naked and unadorn'd as that of Annals. For as the Work is capable of higher finishing, it shou'd be more interwoven and united in its Parts, and the Expression enliven'd with greater Vigour ; tho' to leave it rather too plain and artless, may be a less Error in Judgment, than to make it too florid and sublime. To do Justice therefore to the Style of Suetonius, he affects not to write with Eloquence and elaborate Periods and Turns, and much less with the Sallies of a volatile and sporting Imagination, like that of Florus, who tho' he only abridges the Roman Story, delivers himself arrogantly, and is full of Vanity and Affectation, and the Witticisms of a Boyish Fancy, and perfectly a Martial in Prose. But Suetonius always writes seriously, and like
a Man,

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a Man, and seems to be wholly intent upon what was his proper Business, namely, setting down Matters of Fact, and not shewing his Skill in playing with Words. Yet it must be acknowledged, that his Style is dry, and perplex'd, and many of his Phrases seem hard and Unnatural, and are therefore obscure. He does not write gracefully, and his Sentences are clos'd in too short a Compass, and his Connexions frequently abrupt and uncertain, and there seems a Life and Spiritedness wanting thro' the whole. It is therefore neither a pleasant Task to translate him, nor easy to do it well, to avoid as much as is lawful, those general Defects in the Structure of his Style, and yet not to destroy his Character, by moulding it intirely new. Besides this, the Difficulties which arise from the particular National Customs in private and familiar Conversation, which are of Necessity alluded to in Biographical Writings, may incline the Reader to be more favourable in censuring the Errors in such Translations.

The Objection which has been made against the Choice of his Subject, that the Emperors whose Lives he writes, were Monsters of Corruption and Folly, and therefore a good Author wou'd not be willing to employ his Pen in describing them, is unreasonable; for the Consequences of it wou'd extend too far, since if it were comply'd with universally by Historians, it wou'd make many a Gap in the Records of former Ages, and render them

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them very imperfect. This Argument therefore only concludes, that the Lives of private and obscure Persons which are scandalous and ill, are not worth relating, and that a Man who desires merely to raise himself a Reputation as an Author, would not flitch upon the Reign of an absurd and ridiculous Prince for the Subject of his Work. But it is necessary that Occurrences and Actions of past Times shou'd be deliver'd to Posterity, and an Historian must take them as they happen, and ought not to be blam'd if they prove vile and worthless.

Such Histories are also of admirable Use: For the calamitous Ends of Tyrannical and Inhumane Princes which are there represented, are a Warning-Piece shut off to deter Rulers from Actions of Injustice and Mischief; and their extravagant and oppressive Reigns, amply demonstrate the Miseries of a People who are surrender'd to the capricious Will of one Man, to starve or flourish, to be easy or tormented, enrich'd or plunder'd, and live or die, as his Resentments or wanton Cruelty shall direct. Who that enjoys the inexpressible Blessing of a well-constituted Government administer'd by wise and upright Hands, but when he reads these Examples, must be transported with his own Felicity, and taste Liberty with an intenser Pleasure. An arbitrary Power may perhaps be so artfully represented in Speculation, as to deceive the unwary into the fatal Delusion of believing it beneficial, and not attended with these pernicious Evils: But when we see the
same

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same tremendous Effects continually taking place where the Thing has been put to the Experiment, it will surely be impossible for us to resist the Conviction, and not to have the most contemptible Opinion of any Learned Men, who shall undertake to assure a Nation, which it, and always has been rul'd by Laws, that they have no Right to their Freedom; and that it is their Duty and Interest to be expos'd to all manner of Violence and Depredation.

That which Suetonius seems to have chiefly propos'd to himself in compiling these Lives, was not to make a compleat History of the whole, but to supply what he observ'd was mostly neglected by former Writers; namely, the private Conversations and Customs, the Sayings and Behaviour of the Emperors, in which he is very full and particular, while he gives us their publick and more important Transactions briefly and in gross, as having been already sufficiently related by others. And this being his principal Design, he was the more easily betray'd into the Indiscretion of mentioning whatever came to his Knowledge of this Kind, without Distinction; and of setting down many frivolous Circumstances, which are too little to appear in a History; as where he tells us what Sort of Cheese and Bread Augustus Caesar lik'd best, and what Clothes he put on in the Winter, and is even so formal as to quote some of his Letters upon this minute Subject.

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And tho' it might proceed from the same Principle, that he is so particular in mentioning the Lewdness and more than Bestial Actions of Tiberius and others, yet this is a Fault of too mischievous a Nature to be excus'd: For his condemning the Crime is ineffectual, while his describing the Debaucheries is apt to sully the Imagination with impure Ideas, and occasion the Vices he relates. So gross indeed was the Depravity of the Roman Manners at the Beginning of the Imperial Government, and which afterwards increas'd, that scarcely any noted Person among them was clear from the Imputation of the most unnatural Folly; and the Suspicion is so just even of Virgil himself, that it will be difficult to vindicate him from it, and to understand his Second Pastoral, and several Lines in the Third, in an innocent Sense. In translating those Parts of Suetonius, I have cover'd them what I cou'd by a remote Expression, and have purposely left some of them obscure: For as they ought not to have been written, they ought to be wholly omitted in a Translation, where it is not possible to avoid indecent Terms; and where they can be touch'd in distant Words, what a shameful Folly wou'd it be to add Notes to explain them? How many shocking Passages in antient Authors had lain justly not understood, if the criminal Officiousness of Commentators had not thrown a Light upon them? Was there ever a more profligate Breach of Modesty known, than in the Editor of the Dauphin's Claudian,

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Claudian, who has struck out the Obscurities from the Text, where they lay dispers'd, and might escape a Reader's Eye who did not go thro' the whole Poem, and has printed them all together in a Collection at the End, with an Interpretation of the most obnoxious Words? Or what can give a greater Horror than to hear a Foreign Scholar engage to publish a full Commentary upon such a Writer as Petronius Arbitr, Si Deus det vitam & vires?

As the extreme Superstition of the Romans dispos'd them, like the other Pagan Nations, to interpret the most indifferent Circumstances and Events in an ominous Sense, it cannot be surprising that Suetonius is so particular in reciting the Prognosticks and portentous Signs, which foreboded the Deaths of the Emperors, and the principal Occurrences in their Lives. And tho' Polybius was too wise to fall into this Folly, yet he was a Grecian; and Livy, the Prince of the Roman Historians, indulges himself in these idle Relations; and Appian Claudius, one of the Generals in the Time of the Consuls, is loudly exclaim'd on for adventuring to shew a Contempt of such Fancies; and Julius Cæsar and Tiberius are censur'd on the same Account. But Suetonius was undoubtedly honest in what he tells us of this Kind, and believ'd himself what he wrote, and did not do it to comply with former Precedents, or to amuse his Reader: For by a Letter of

Pliny's

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Pliny's it appears, he had wrote to him very pressing, if it were possible, to get a Law-Suit he had depending, and which was now coming on, put off to another Time, because he had dream'd about it. Pliny, with his usual good Nature and Readiness to please his Friend, endeavours to persuade him not to be so much disturb'd at the Dream, since it might perhaps be a Token of Success, as he shews him by a Dream of his own, which he had formerly had in a Case of the same Nature; but however, to make him easy, he wou'd, if he desir'd it, get the Hearing adjourn'd.

Whether Suetonius has excell'd or equal'd the other Writers of Biography among the Romans, may deserve to be examin'd, but a Comparison can never be exactly form'd between him and Plutarch, because their Design and Manner seem to be intirely different. For Suetonius, it is plain, writes only Historically to give a naked Relation of Facts; but Plutarch, proposing to make his a more Philosophical Work, has chosen Characters of eminent Renown and Merit, in order to reason from them, and deduce Conclusions for the Moral Improvement of the Reader. Tho' Plutarch therefore is a more valuable Author, as having a great and manly Genius, supply'd with uncommon Learning and Knowledge, yet the Excellency of Plutarch and Suetonius is of two Kinds; and as Suetonius cou'd not have
executed

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executed equally upon Plutarch's Model, so neither could Plutarch have persuaded himself to have written according to that of the latter.

It will scarcely therefore be a Disparagement to Suetonius, to yield in Reputation to so extraordinary a Man as Plutarch: And he has the Consolation of suffering in the common Calamity of his Countrymen, who in the Point of Learning can by no means stand in Competition with the Greeks; which being observ'd briefly somewhere in a Note, I shall for a Conclusion explain it here more at large.

The Vanity of the Grecians in claiming to themselves beyond other Nations, the Honour both of Antiquity and Letters, was not well supported, since the Knowledge of Literature, and several Parts of the Heav'nly Theology, seem to have been introduc'd into Greece by the Phœnicians, who were acquainted with the History of Moses and the Hebrew Law; but it is certain the Romans ow'd their Religion and Learning to the Greeks. For Cadmus, to whom the Grecians themselves impute the Invention of at least Part of their Alphabet, was a Phœnician; and the Arcadians, who inhabited the Middle of Peloponnesus, imported their Deities and Rites of Worship into Italy, long before Rome was built.

But

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But tho' the Superstition of the Arcadians was very early embrac'd by the Nations of Italy, yet the Liberal Sciences do not appear to have made any considerable Progress; the Arcadians who first arriv'd, being ignorant themselves, or the Natives not apt or in a Condition to receive Instructions; or perhaps the Principles of any Art which were planted among them, were by the Confusions of succeeding Times abolish'd.

In this rude Condition Italy seems to have continu'd, till the Roman Arms open'd a Communication with the Greeks, about the Year of Rome 470; when Pyrrhus King of Epirus, at the Invitation of the Tarentines, made a Descent into Italy. It is from this Point of Time, that the Romans Acquaintance with Learning may be esteem'd to begin: For tho' they had long before employ'd Ambassadors to collect from the Grecians a Body of the most useful Laws, of which the Ten Tables were afterwards compos'd; yet the Philosophy and polite Arts of Greece they left untouched, and brought home no Masters with them. But after the War with Pyrrhus, some Envoys being dispatch'd from Boetia to solicit Aid against the Athenians, the Conversation of the Greeks, and their surprising Turns in Argument and Eloquence, inspir'd the Youth of Rome with a Desire of having the Elements of so beautiful an Art imparted to them.

Old

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Old Cato, and some who were inflexible Admirers of the Primitive Roughness and Rusticity of Manners, were displeas'd at this, and endeavour'd to prevent the Grecian Oratory and Erudition taking Place among them.

Tho' the strong Inclination to Learning, which was now awaken'd, at length bore down all Opposition, and produc'd several great and admirable Writers among the Romans, it may still be a National Observation upon them, that in several Kinds of Learning they were always inferior to their Masters, and in others scarcely arose to an equal Perfection with them. For Literature in the several Parts of it, was universal among the Grecians; whereas the Romans were rather happy in producing some particular Genius's, than in being a Learned People; and it is well known, how much their chief Authors have copy'd from Greek Originals.

In Natural Philosophy, the Grecians had many extraordinary Men, who upon different Principles projected an Hypothesis, which if it was not true, was at least ingeniously design'd, and shew'd a Dexterity of Invention. But what new System in Physics was ever propos'd by the Romans? Or what Errors and Defects have they discover'd and supply'd in the Grecians? And in Mathematicks and Astronomy they were so grossly unknowing, that they seem to have been ignorant almost of the plainest Rudiments
of

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of those Sciences; in which and in the Arts of Statuary and Painting the Preference was so notoriously on the Side of the Grecians, that the others have ingenuously acknowledg'd it; tho' those Lines of Virgil,

Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra, &c.

Is not so much a free Confession of another's Superior Merit, as the scornful Neglect of a Man who flings up a Thing in Anger, as not being able to obtain it.

In Works of Imagination and Eloquence, as Poetry and Oratory, we know the Palm is also adjudged to the Grecians; the few Remains of Dramatick Writings among the Romans which have come to our Hands, being at once a Demonstration of their little Ability that Way, and of the Grecians Triumph over them. The Tragedies which pass under Seneca's Name, are more properly Moral Reflections and Set Speeches upon such Topics, by a Philosopher writing at his Ease, than a true Image of Nature, and Expressions of Persons agitated in the Events of real Life. Terence was an African, and the Praise which belongs to his Comedies, is ultimately the Grecians; for the Plays are taken from Menander, and in the Judgment of Cæsar himself, he has fallen far short of the Original. Plautus indeed was a Roman born, and had a Vein in Comedy beyond the
a other;

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other; his Wit is more abundant and more spirited, and there are more Strokes of Humour in his Characters. But this, according to a former Observation, is only a single Instance of one Man, and concludes nothing to the Advantage of the Romans in general. In a Word, the Romans neither excell'd in the Drama, nor tasted the noblest Kinds of it; for the Theatrical Entertainments they offered, were ludicrous and of the Comic Species, and those not consisting of a Story contriv'd naturally, and adapted to exert and shew in a clear Point of Light, a Variety of Disposition and Manners, and those odd and particular Turns and Salies of Fancy, which may be signify'd by the Word Humour, but were more address'd to the Sight and to the meaner Passions, than to the Understanding of the Mind; for the most admir'd of their Actors were the Mimi, who pleas'd the Spectators by mere Gestures without Words.

If Virgil has been so happy as to excel the Bays of Homer of Hesiod, in his Georgics, he has not the same Advantage over Theocritus in his Pastorals, and Homer is the more universal and animated Genius. His three Poems are plainly form'd upon the Plans of those Grecians, and he confesses it concerning his Pastorals,

Prima Syracusio dignata est ludere versu,

and

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and his Georgics,

Aferzum; cano Romana per oppida
carmen;

however it happens that in his *Æneis* he has not
shewn the same Integrity toward Homer, from
whose *Ilias* he has taken his Design.

What is said concerning Plautus may be ap-
ply'd to Cicero, whose Orations are distin-
guish'd by a Shining and Masculine Sense, and a
great Copiousness and Harmony of Expression; in
both which Respects he is below none of the Gre-
cians. Yet he found it proper to withdraw
from the Forum after he had begun to plead;
and employ some Time at Athens under the
Grecian Masters; and it was after this he
arose into that extraordinary Reputation which he
will always possess. As he propos'd Demosthe-
nes for his Pattern, his Admiration of him
was so passionate, that in Allusion to his cele-
brated Orations against King Philip, he has
improperly ty'd his own Declamations against
Mark Anthony, by the same Name of Phi-
lippines. And in his Philosophical Writings,
which are fill'd with such sublime Reasoning
and Reflections, his Fondness for the Grecians
is so great, that he frequently chuses rather to
relate their Opinions and Thoughts, than to great

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the Subject: directly himself, and deliver his own Sentiments upon them.

The same Observation may be repeated concerning Livy, who is the principal Historian among the Romans: To which we may add, that he has only compos'd the History of a single People, who were of a later Original than several others; whereas among the Greeks we have Histories whose Subject is universal, and comprises the Events, Doctrines, and Customs of Nations very remote, and who were most celebrated in the Heathen World for Antiquity, and the Honour of the first Knowledge of Arts and of Religious Worship.

This general Disparity may perhaps be imputed rather to some external Causes and Impediments than to a natural Inaptitude in the Romans. For not only the first Inhabitants of Rome were compos'd of the basest People of the neighbouring Towns; but they were of Necessity from the Beginning engag'd in Wars for the enlarging their Limits, and repelling the Invasions of the bordering Nations: so that during the Kings Government, and that of the Consuls, they were wholly employ'd in Arms, which left them no Leisure to cultivate the liberal Arts; and after they had establish'd

• Rursus felicitas et bellicositas etiam cum civitates
necdem magnopere liberalibus disciplinis vacante.
De illust. Gram.

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establish'd their Dominion, the Civil Confusions of Sylla, and then of Caesar, embroil'd them at home, and at last destroy'd their Liberties. And under an Arbitrary Power it will always be impracticable to improve Learning in all its Parts to Perfection. Tho' the mild Administration of Augustus therefore, like Ease after a violent Pain, reviv'd the Spirits of the Romans, and his Indulgence and Liberalities rais'd up many excellent Writers, yet the Tyranny of the succeeding Emperors put a stop to the Progress of Science, and check'd it soon after it was begun. For the Mind is depress'd, and restrain'd in all its Powers, when it sees the free Exercise of them is not only discountenanc'd, but often fatal. And this may be a Reason why Eloquence and Erudition flourish'd most under Augustus, after the free Government was converted into an absolute Empire, and among the Greeks, while their Republicks were standing, and before they were enslav'd and conquer'd.

Concerning the former Translations of Suetonius I shall only observe, that in that publish'd by several Hands whole Sentences are entirely omitted, and many misconstrued, and an improper Liberty frequently us'd of confounding the Roman Offices and Customs by putting them into modern Terms. I have endeavour'd therefore to make this more exact and compleat, and that nothing necessary might be wanting, have added large explanatory Notes concerning Places
and

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and Things, and to render some Parts of the History the more clear, without which so summary a Writer as Suetonius would not be understood. I have also pointed out the particular Word or Circumstance in which a Witty Turn or Saying consists, and shewn in what Sense it is likely the Dreams and Omens were interpreted and apply'd; and the Passages out of the Poets relating to the Subject, which are inserted in the Notes, may be no unpleasant Relief in the Course of a dry Narration. This made the Undertaking more laborious, and if the whole is tolerably perform'd, I hope the Reader, who considers the Conciseness and Difficulties of Suetonius's Style, will forgive the Errors he shall discover. The Cuts of the Antiquities, which are very serviceable in reading an ancient History, and the Emperors Heads, are copy'd from those in Petiscus's Latin Edition, who says, the Heads were taken from Paintings done at the Command of Queen Christina. This, I see, has led the Bookseller into a Mistake in his Advertisement, that the Notes of Petiscus won't be here translated.

Added here explanatory Notes concerning Places.

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ERRA-

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ERRATA

Page 80, line 29, read *Registry*. p. 90, l. 4 in the Note, r. *Class-*
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 r. *Page 29*. p. 181, l. 18 in the Note, r. *Classical*. p. 201, l. 9
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 the *Common after Registry*, and place it at *End*. / p. 489, l. 16,
 for *Palmarium* r. *Parmlarium*.

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VII. GALILEA. - 401

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IX. VITELLOS.

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THE L I F E O F JULIUS CÆSAR.

JULIUS CÆSAR, lost his Father when he was Sixteen Years old, and in the next * Consulate, being chosen † *Flamen Dialis*, he divorc'd *Cossutia*, a Lady whose Fortune was very rich, tho' she was only of an Equestrian Family, whom he had espous'd in his Minority; and married *Cornelia*, the Daughter of *Cinna*, four times Consul, by whom he had his Daughter *Julia*: Nor cou'd *Sylla*, the Dictator, prevail with him by any means to dismiss her. Wherefore being depriv'd of the Priesthood, of his Wife's Dowry, and of his Paternal Estate, he was suppos'd to have thrown himself into the *Marian* Faction, and was treated accordingly; so that he was oblig'd to abscond, and to shift his Lodging almost every Night, tho' he was ill with a Quartan Ague, and frequently to buy himself out of the Hands of the Officers who search'd after him; till, at length, the Vestal Virgins, and *Mamercus Emilinus* and *Aurelius Cotta*, his Relations, procur'd

* The Consuls were elected every Year.

† Priest of Jupiter.

procur'd him a Pardon. It is well known, that when Sylla had, for a long time, rejected the Intercession of some who were his intimate Friends and Persons of Noble Rank, in Caesar's Behalf, and they continu'd incessantly to urge him, at last yielding to their Intreaties, *Thou shalt command me*; cry'd he, or by an Inspiration, or from his own Conjecture, *let it be as you please*; but remember, *this Man whom you are so importunate to save, will one Day be the Ruine of the Patrician Party, which we have been endeavouring to support: For there are many Marius's in Caesar.*

1. He made his first Campaign in *Asia*, under *M. Therman*, the Pretor; and being sent by him to *Bithynia* to hasten the Arrival of the Fleet, he staid some time there with *Nicomedes*, the King, not without a Report of having become his Prostitute; which Rumour was encreas'd by his returning to *Bithynia* within a few Days, on Pretence of recovering a Debt belonging to a certain Freeman, his Client. He behav'd himself with a better Reputation during the rest of the Campaign, and was honour'd by *Therman* with a * *Civic Crown*, at the taking of *Mitylene*.

3. He serv'd also under *Servilius Isauricus*, in *Cilicia*, but not long; for hearing of Sylla's Death, he posted away to *Rome*, having some Expectations from a new Dissention, which was set on foot by *Lepidus*; yet he refus'd to associate with him in his Measures, tho' invited to it upon very great Conditions, because he distrusted both *Lepidus's* Capacity, and the present Situation of Things, which he found to be less advantageous than he had imagin'd.

4. When the Civil Commotions were settled, he impeach'd *Delabella*, a † *Consular Man*, and who had triumph'd, of Bribery; and upon his being acquitted

resolv'd

* The Civic Crown was compos'd of Oaken Boughs, and was given as a Mark of Honour to him who had sav'd the Life of a Roman Citizen in an Engagement.

† A Consular Man signifies one who has borne the Office of Consul.

resolv'd to withdraw to *Rhodes*, at once to avoid the Odiūm he might have provok'd. and to make a Retreat for Studying under *Apollonius*, the Son of *Molo*, who was then a celebrated Master of Rhetorick. As he was passing hither by Sea in the Winter, he was taken near the Island *Pharmacusa* by the Pirates, and had the Mortification to continue in their Hands near forty Days, attended only with one Physician, and two of his Chamberlains. For he immediately sent away his Friends, and the rest of his Train, to raise Money for his Ransom. As soon as he had pay'd down fifty Talents, and was set on Shore, he drew up the Fleet, and sail'd in pursuit of the Pirates, who fled; and having taken them, he executed on them the * Punishment, with which he had frequently threaten'd them in jest. *Mithridates* was then laying the neighbouring Countries waste; and therefore, not to be unactive when the Roman Allies were in Danger, he chang'd his Course from *Rhodes*, whither he was bound, and stood for *Asia*; and gathering a Body of Forces, drove the King's Lieutenant out of the Province, and preserv'd the Cities in their Fidelity, which were beginning to waver.

5. In his Military Tribuneship, which was the first Honour to which the People elected him upon his Return to *Rome*, he united zealously with those who were attempting to restore the Tribunitial Power, which *Sylla* had greatly reduc'd. And by the † *Plotian* Law he recall'd from Exile, *L. Cinna*, his Wife's Brother, and other Partisans in *Lepidus's* Dissension, who after the Consul's Death had fled to *Sertorius*: And upon this Occasion he made a Popular Harangue.

6. When he was Questor he pronounc'd a Funeral Oration, according to Custom, from the *Rostra*,

B 2

in

* Crucifixion, vide § 74.

† Call'd so from *Plotius* the Tribune, who caus'd it to be enacted; for it was the Roman Custom to name a Law from the Person who procur'd it to be pass'd.

in Praise of his Aunt Julia and his Wife Cornelia : And speaking of his Aunt, he had these Words concerning her Descent and her Father's : *The Maternal Line of my Aunt Julia is deduc'd from Kings, and the Paternal is ally'd to the Gods. For from Ancus Marcius came the Kings the Marcii, which Name her Mother bore ; and from Venus sprung the Julii, from which Stem our Family arose. Thus there is in our House both the Dignity of Kings, who are most powerful among Men ; and the Majesty of the Gods, to whom Kings themselves are subject. Upon Cornelia's Death he married Pompeia, the Daughter of M. Pompey and Grand-Daughter of Sylla, whom he afterwards divorc'd, on a Presumption of her being defil'd by P. Clodius : The Report of whose introducing himself to her in a Woman's Habit, during the * Sacred Ceremonies, was so general, that the Senate order'd him to be arraign'd upon the Crime De Pollutis Sacris, Of Profaning the Religious Rites.*

7. In his Questorship the farther Spain was assign'd him for his Province ; where going the judicial Circuit by the Pretor's Commission, he came to Gades : And observing in Hercules's Temple a Statue of Alexander the Great, he sigh'd, and as if ashamed of his own Supineness, for having acted Nothing memorable at an Age in which Alexander had subdu'd the World, he importunately press'd for a Dismission home, that he might be ready on the spot to embrace any Occasion which shou'd arise for more important Undertakings. And as he was in a wonderful Confusion by a Dream he had in the following Night, (which was, that he had violated his Mother) the Interpreters swell'd his Hopes to Extravagance ; expounding it to portend the Empire of the World : For the Mother he saw submitted to him, was no other than the Earth, which is to be esteem'd the common Parent of us all.

8. Depart-

* Viz. The Solemnities of the Bona Dea, the Good Goddess, which the Women perform'd by Night in a private Place, where it was unlawful for a Man to enter.

8. Departing abruptly therefore, before his time, he went to the *Latin Colonies*, who were soliciting for the Privilege of Citizens, and had certainly engag'd them in some Enterprize, if the Consuls had not on this Account kept up, for a while, the Legions which were formerly rais'd for *Cilicia*; However, this did not prevent his attempting greater Things afterwards in the City.

9. For he was suspected, some Days before he entered on the *Edileship*, to have conspir'd with *M. Crassus*, a Consular Man, and with *P. Sylla* and *Antronius*, who had been condemn'd of Corruption after their Election to the Consulate; by whom it was concerted to fall upon the Senate in the beginning of the Year, and kill whom they thought fit; and that *Crassus* shou'd then seize the Dictatorship, and declare *Caesar* his Master of the Horse; and the State being moulded to their Pleasure, that *Sylla* and *Antronius* shou'd be restor'd to the Consulate. This Conspiracy is mention'd by *Tanussius Geminus* in his History, by *M. Bibulus* in his Edicts, and by *C. Curio*, the Father, in his Orations. And this is what *Cicero* seems to mean, in a Letter of his to *Asinius*, where he says, *Caesar had possess'd himself of that Dominion, being Consul, which he had projected when he was Edile.* *Tanussius* adds, that *Crassus*, either out of Remorse or Fear, did not meet on the Day appointed for the Massacre, and therefore *Caesar* forbore to give the Signal they had agreed on; which, according to *Curio*, was to be his pulling his Gown from his Shoulder. *Curio* and *M. Alforius Naso* relate also, that *Caesar* had form'd another Conspiracy with *C. Piso*, a Youth, who was to have the Province of *Spain* assign'd to him extraordinarily, to prevent any Jealousy of their plotting together in the City, it being settled between them, that at the same Time one shou'd make an Insurrection abroad, and the other at home, by means of the *Lambrani* and the *Transpadani*. But this Invention was defeated by the Death of *Piso*.

10. When he was *Edile* he adorn'd not only the Council-Halls, the Forum, and the Courts of Judicature;

cature, but also the Capitol with Portico's, that at any time part of the vast Preparations he made for Publick Entertainments might be lodg'd there in open View. He exhibited Plays and Baitings of Wild Beasts, both in Conjunction with his Collegue *Bibulus* and separately from him; by which means the Glory of what was perform'd at the common Charge was entirely deriv'd on *Cesar*; and *Bibulus* ingenuously own'd, that his Fortune and *Pollux's* were the same: For as the Fane which was built to the two Brothers in the *Forum*, was call'd only by *Castor's* Name; so the joint Munificence of him and *Cesar*, was reputed *Cesar's* alone. *Cesar* added also a Scene of Gladiators, but with fewer Combatants than he intended: For the Multitude he had assembled from all Parts allarming his Enemies, they prevail'd to have the Number determin'd, which no one shou'd be permitted to exceed in *Rome*.

11. When he had thus gain'd the Favour of the People, he attempted, by the Interest of the Tribunes, to procure the Province of *Egypt* to be allotted him; having an admirable Occasion before him to get an extraordinary Power lodg'd in his Hands: For the *Alexandrines* had expell'd their King, whom the Senate had styl'd Friend and Ally, which was generally resent'd at *Rome*. But the Nobles defeated his Intention. Wherefore, in reprisal, to beat down their Authority by all possible Means, he restor'd the Trophies of *Marins* over *Jugurth*, the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, which *Sylla* had demolish'd. And sitting upon the Crime of Murder, he pronounc'd them to be guilty of it, who had receiv'd Moneys out of the Treasury, for bringing in the Heads of *Roman* Citizens upon a Proscription; tho this Case was especially excepted by the *Cornelian* Laws.

12. He suborn'd one to enter an Impeachment of Treason against *C. Rabirius*, by whose Assistance chiefly the Senate had some Years before suppress'd the seditious Attempts of *L. Saturninus* the Tribune; and

JULIUS CÆSAR. 7

and being chosen Judge in the Cause, he condemn'd him so very readily, and with so good a Will, that nothing was of equal Service to *Rabirius*, who appeal'd to the People, as the Severity of his Judge.

13. Quitting all Hope of carrying the * Province he propos'd, he put up for the High-Priesthood, and was exceedingly profuse in his Largeesses, inso-much that computing the extravagant Debt he had contracted by this Expence, he is said to have told his Mother, when she kiss'd him as he was going in the Morning to the Election, that unless he were chosen he wou'd never return home. His two Competitors were powerful Men, and much his Superiours both in Age and Dignity; but his Interest was so far beyond theirs, that he had more Voices out of their own Tribes, than both of them had among the whole People.

14. *Catiline's* Conspiracy breaking out when he was Pretor, and the whole Senate voting Capital Punishment against the Accomplices, *Cæsar* alone was for having the Sentence to be a † Confinement in several Corporation Towns, with a Confiscation of their Goods. And he struck such a Fear into those who advis'd to severer Penalties, continually representing what a perpetual Odium they wou'd incur by it from the People, that *Decimus Silanus*, the Consul Elect, tho' he was asham'd directly to retract his Opinion, yet condescended to soften it by an Explanation, as if it had been understood more rigorously than he meant it: So that *Cæsar* had undoubtedly prevail'd, having brought over a great many, and among them the Brother of *Cicero* the Consul, if a Speech of *M. Cato* had not confirm'd them in their first Resolutions. Nor did he yet forbear to perplex the

B 4

Debates,

* *Ægypt.*

† By this the Conspirators were excus'd from a close Imprisonment, and had the Freedom of going about within certain Limits assign'd them by the Towns, where they were entrusted, who were answerable for their Appearance.

Debates, till a Band of Roman Knights, who were plac'd round the Senate House as a Guard, threaten'd to cut him in Pieces, and even made at him with their drawn Swords, as he was warmly pushing his Argument; insomuch that his next Assessors fled from the Bench, and some few, who threw themselves round him and cover'd him with their Gowns, were scarcely able to save him. Being terrified at this, he not only desisted, but absented himself also from the Senate the remaining part of the Year.

15. Upon the first Day of his Pretorship he summon'd *Q. Catulus* to an Examination before the People, concerning the Repairing of the Capitol; and propos'd a Bill to take that Charge out of his Hands and commit it to another. But the Combination of the Nobles was too strong for him here, who neglecting the Ceremony of waiting on the new Consuls, presented themselves in Crowds at the Place of Trial, determin'd vigorously to withstand him; upon which he sunk the Process.

16. And *Cecilius Metellus*, the Tribune, undertaking to ordain some Laws, of a dangerous and seditious nature, against the Protests of his Collegues, he encourag'd and supported him to his utmost; till both he and *Metellus* were remov'd from their Offices by a Decree of the Senate: Yet he had the Presumption to continue acting in the Magistracy; but perceiving some were prepar'd to repell him by Force of Arms, he dismiss'd the † *Lictors*, and throwing off his Robe, fled privately home; designing in compliance with the Necessity of the Times, to sit still and meddle no farther. And when the Multitude two Days after resorted to him of themselves, promising, in a tumultuous Manner, to assist him in asserting his Dignity, he appeas'd them and sent them away. Which happening beyond Expectation, the Senate, who assembled in Confusion upon the Rising, return'd him Thanks by Persons of the first Rank;

† A Set of Officers who attended the Pretor.

Rank; and citing him into the House, gave him Praises in the fullest Terms, restor'd him to his Post, and annull'd their former Decree.

17. After this a fresh Difficulty surpris'd him, being accus'd as one of *Catiline's* Accomplices, both before *Novius Niger* the *Questor*, by *L. Vettius Index*, and in the Senate by *Q. Curius*, to whom a publick Premium was appointed for making the first Discovery. *Curius* said he had learn'd it from *Catiline* himself, and *Vettius* engag'd to produce a Paper, which *Cæsar* sent to *Catiline*, written with his own Hand. *Cæsar* thought this was by no means to be endur'd; and having made it appear, that he had voluntarily reveal'd several Particulars of the Conspiracy to *Cicero*, whom he desir'd to witness to the Fact, he obtain'd that *Curius* shou'd not have a Reward; and *Vettius*, who was oblig'd to give in Bail, his Goods being seiz'd, and himself almost torn in pieces as he was speaking at the *Rostra*, he threw into Prison, and with him *Novius* the *Questor*, because he had suffer'd an Impeachment to be brought before him against a * superiour Magistrate:

18. The Province of the farther Spain being granted him at the Conclusion of his Pretorship, after he had satisfied his Creditors, who detain'd him, by finding them Securities, he set forward, contrary to Custom and Right, before the necessary Dispositions and Orders were compleated, for his assuming his Government; whether it was from fear of a Prosecution, which was forming against him now his Magistracy was expir'd; or the more speedily to relieve the Allies in those Parts, who were importunate for Succours, is uncertain. Having settled the Province, he return'd as precipitately, without staying for a Successor, in order to receive at once a Triumph and the Consulate: But since he cou'd not be admitted a Candidate at the Election, which was now begun, unless he enter'd the City a private Man; and

B 5

meeting

* The Pretor was above a *Questor*.

meeting with a general Opposition as he mov'd to have this Law suspended in his Favour, he was constrain'd to give up the Triumph, that he might not be excluded the Consulate.

19. Of his two Rivals *L. Lucceius* and *M. Bibulus*, he chose to unite his Interest with the former, contracting with him, that because he was less popular, but very wealthy, it shou'd be his part to distribute the usual Sums among the Centuries upon their common Account. The Nobles being apprisd of the Agreement, and fearing there was nothing which he wou'd not enterprize when he was possess'd of the Supreme Magistracy, with a Colleague who wou'd readily give into his Measures, caus'd *Bibulus* to offer himself to *Cesar* upon those Terms, and several of them contributed toward the Expence: Nor did *Cato* himself deny, that such a Largess at that time might be of publick Service. And thus *Cesar* was created Consul with *Bibulus*. From the same View also the Nobles took care that the new Consuls shou'd be employed upon Things which were of very little Importance, as the Supervising of the Forests and common Ways. Inflam'd at this Indignity, he made his court, by all obliging Offices, to *Pompey*, who was distast'd at the Senate, for their Delay in ratifying his Military Acts after the Conquest of King *Mithridates*. And having reconcil'd *Pompey* and *M. Crassus*, who had been Enemies ever since their Consulate, in which they were continually at variance, he struck up a Confederacy with them, that Nothing shou'd be done in the Republick, which was disapprov'd by any of the Three.

20. Being enter'd on his Office, he was the first who ordain'd, that the daily Acts, as well of the Senate as of the People, shou'd be register'd and publish'd. He reviv'd also the ancient Custom, that in the Month when the *Fasces* were not borne before him, an *Accensus* shou'd precede him, and the *Lictors* march

† A sort of Crier to the Court.

JULIUS CÆSAR. 11

march next behind. His Colleague declaring against
 the *Agrarian* Law when it was promulg'd, he drove
 him by Force of Arms out of the *Forum*: And when
 he complain'd of it the next Day in the Senate, and
 no one was found who had Bravery enough to exa-
 mine into it, or move for a Reparation, as had
 been often done in Cases less outrageous, it threw
Bibulus into such Despair, that abdicating his Office,
 he shut himself up in his House, and only ventur'd
 to protest against him by Edicts. From that time
 one Man administer'd all things in the Republick,
 at his Pleasure. Whence, in witnessing to Writings,
 some wou'd ludicrously date them, not *Cæsar* and
Bibulus, but *Julius and Cæsar*, being *Consuls*; and the
 following Verses were commonly handed about.

*Non Bibulo quidquam nuper, sed Cæsare factum est:
 Nam Bibulo Consule fieri nil memini.*

A Consul *Cæsar* we have had, 'tis true;
 But honest *Bibulus* who ever knew?

The *Campus Stellatus*, which was consecrated to
 Sacred Uses by our Ancestors, and the *Campanian*
 Grounds which were left as a publick Fund, he divi-
 ded, (not according to former Examples, by Lot,) be-
 tween twenty Thousand Citizens, who were found to
 have three Children apiece, or more. And the Publi-
 cans desiring an Abatement in the Rates at which
 they farm'd the Revenues, he remitted them a third
 Part, and openly advis'd them not to bid upon one
 another so extravagantly for any future Subsidies.
 He dispens'd all other Favours indifferently at his
 Discretion, no one contradicting him; or if any
 endeavour'd to prevent it, they were immediately
 over-aw'd; and *M. Cato* beginning to interpose, he
 commanded the *Lictor* to hale him out of the Court,
 and lay him in Prison. And *Lucullus*, who yet made
 a gallant Stand, he so frighten'd with an Apprehen-
 sion of opening some terrible Accusation against him,

that.

that he threw himself at his Knees. *Cicero* also having in one of his Pleadings, deplor'd the Condition of the Times, he caus'd his Enemy, *P. Clodius*, to be translated from the || *Patrician* to the *Plebeian* Order, at † three a Clock in the Afternoon; a Benefit which he had long since solicited for in vain. And to push at the whole Body of the other Party at once, he procur'd *Petius* to depose, that he had been instigated by several of them to murder *Pompey*; and publicly to name such particular Persons, as the Authors of the Design. But when two or three were impeach'd in vain, and the Thing became suspected of Forgery, 'tis thought he despair'd of the Success of this precipitate Invention, and so remov'd his Evidence by Poison.

21. About the same time he married *Calpurnia*, the Daughter of *Piso*, who was to succeed him in the Consulate; and gave his Daughter *Julia* to *Pompey*, repudiating her former Husband *Servilius Capi*, who had assisted him more than any Man to crush his Fellow-Consul *Bibulus*. Upon this Relation he made *Pompey* the Compliment of asking his Vote first in the Senate, as he had done *Craſſus's* before: And it was the Custom, that the same Order of gathering the Voices, as the Consul had observ'd, upon the * *Kalends of January*, shou'd be continu'd all the Year.

22. His Father-in-law therefore, and his new Son supporting him, he made his Choice of all the Provinces, and pitch'd on both the *Gauls*; by the Profits and Advantages of which, he was most likely to obtain a Triumph. At first only the *Cisalpine Gaul*, with the Addition of *Illyricum*, was appointed him by the

|| This was a Degradation, but *Clodius* sought for it, in order to qualify himself for the Tribuneship, a *Patrician* not being capable of the Office.

† An Hour at which the Courts, in which such Translations were made, never us'd to sit.

* New-year's Day.

the † *Vatinian Law*, but the Senate afterwards threw in *Gallia Comata*, in fear the People wou'd give it to him, if they shou'd refuse it. His Transport at this was so great, that he cou'd not forbear vaunting, a few Days after, in a full House, he had now accomplish'd his Desires in despite of his Enemies, who repin'd in vain, and shou'd henceforth Lord it over them all. And some body telling him, by way of Reflection, *that wou'd be no easie thing for any Woman to do*, he answer'd, alluding as it were to the secret Sense of the Expression, *Semiramis had reign'd in Assyria, and the Amazons were once Sovereigns of great Part of Asia*.

23. At the end of his Consulate, C. Memmius and Lucius Domitius, the Pretors, laying the * *Acts* he had pass'd, during his Office, before the Senate, he submitted himself to the Judgment of the House; who declining to enter on the Examination, after three Days were spent in fruitless Debates, he set out for his Province: And immediately upon his Departure, the Man who had been his Questor when he was Consul, was seiz'd for several Misdeameanors, which was a President for calling *Cæsar* himself to Account. L. Antistius the Tribune impeaching him shortly after, he appeal'd to the whole College of Tribunes, and obtain'd, that since he was absent in the Service of the Republick, Sentence shou'd not be given in his Disfavour. And to secure himself for time to come, he took care always to make the Annual Magistrates his Friends, and to promote the Interest only of those among the Competitors, who wou'd engage to Patronize him in his Absence, not suffer-

† *A Law pass'd by P. Vatinus the Tribune, conferring the Government of these Countries upon Cæsar for five Years, without a Decree of the Senate, or the usual Formality of casting Lots.*

* *These Acts were Illegal, and the Pretors, by reporting them to the Senate, design'd to have had Cæsar call'd to account for them, and punish'd.*

suffering the others to carry any Preferments; nor did he scruple to require an Oath from some, and even an Instrument under their Hand.

24. But *L. Domitius*, who put up for the Consulate, openly threatening, if he was chosen, to effect what he had not been able to do when he was Pretor, and to deprive him of his Command of the Army; *Cæsar* prevail'd on *Crassus* and *Pompey*, whom he had drawn over to *Luca*, a City of his Province, to stand for the Consulship again, in order to exclude *Domitius*, and procure his own Commission to be continued for five Years: In both which Designs he succeeded. And this gave him such Assurance, that he added to the publick Legions which were under him, two others at his own Expence; one of which consisting of *Transalpine Gauls*, was call'd by a Gaulish Name † *Alauda*: He form'd them after the Discipline and Customs of the *Romans*, and at last made them free of the City. And now he never slipp'd an Occasion of beginning a War, tho' it were unjust and hazardous, falling upon Confederates as well as Enemies and Barbarians, without Provocation; insomuch that the Senate had once voted Deputies shou'd be sent to inquire into the Affairs of *Gaul*, and some mov'd to have him given up into the Enemies Hands. But his Actions were so perpetually fortunate, that there were Days of publick Thanksgiving oftner appointed on his account, and for a greater Number together, than any General before him had ever obtain'd. In the Compass of his nine Years Command, he perform'd most of the following Enterprizes.

25. Beside the People whom he made Allies, and the Cities he brought entirely to receive the *Roman* Laws, he reduc'd into the Form of a Province all that part of *Gaul*, which is bounded by the *Pyreneans*, the *Alps*, and Mount *Gibenna*, and the Rivers *Rhine* and *Rhone*, and is Three thousand two hundred Miles in Compass,

† The Crested Legion.

Compass, and impos'd on it an annual Tribute of *Forty hundred thousand Sesterces. He was the first Roman who laying a Bridge over the Rhine, attack'd the Germans on the other side, and gave them several considerable Defeats. He also invaded the Britains, who were unknown before, and conquering oblig'd them to pay down a Sum of Money, and to give Hostages. Amidst so many Successes, he was unfortunate only thrice, namely, in Britain, where his Fleet was almost destroy'd by a Tempest; and in Gaul, where one of his Legions was put to Flight at Gergovia; and lastly, on the German Frontiers where his Lieutenants Titurius and Aurunculus were slain in an Ambuscade.

26. As he was thus multiplying his Victories, he lost in a short space of Time his Mother, his Daughter, and his Grand-Daughter. And the Republick being now in a wonderful Consternation at the Murder of P. Clodius, and the Senate voting a single Consul, and fixing on Pompey by Name, he practis'd with the Tribunes who were going to make him Colleague with Pompey, rather to propose a Law to the People which shou'd enable him to stand a second time for the Consulate in his Absence, whenever the Term of his Commission was almost expir'd, lest he shou'd otherwise be under a Necessity of quitting his Province before he had finish'd the War. As soon as he had carry'd this Article, he turn'd his Ambition to more exalted Views; and being animated in his Hopes, omitted no Largesses nor Address towards any one, either in publick or private. He began to erect a Forum with the Money arising from the Spoils, the Floor of which cost him above a Hundred Millions of Sesterces: And signify'd, that he wou'd present the People with a Shew of Gladiators, and a Feast in Honour of his Daughter's Memory; a Thing altogether without Example. And to raise their Expectations, tho' he had set the publick Victuallers to work,

* About 33333 l. Sterling.

work, he also employ'd the Cooks of private Families to prepare for the Entertainment; and order'd, if a celebrated Gladiator was at any time in danger of being sacrific'd by the Spectators, he shou'd be carry'd off by Force, and reserv'd for this Solemnity. He had several young Swords-Men train'd up, not by the common Play on the Stage, or by the ordinary Masters, but in private Houses by Roman Knights, and even by such Senators as were well skill'd in the Art, desiring them, as appears by his Letters, to undertake their Education, and instruct them in their Exercises. He also doubled the Pay of his Legions for ever, and in a time of Plenty distributed Corn among them liberally, and not by the common Measure; and sometimes gave Slaves and Lands to several particular Men.

27. In order to preserve the Friendship and Affection of Pompey, he offer'd him his Sister's Grand-Daughter *Offavia*, who was marry'd to *G. Marcellus*, and ask'd his Daughter, who was contracted to *Fannius Sylla*, for himself. He oblig'd all who were near Pompey's Person, and even a great many Senators by lending them Money freely, or at a very small Interest, and made very generous Presents to those of any inferiour Orders, who came to attend him, either by Invitation or of their own accord, causing even their freed Men and Slaves, to partake of his Bounty, accordingly as they were in Favour with their particular Lords or Patrons. To Offenders, Debtors, and extravagant Youths he was a certain and immediate Refuge, unless the Excess of their Crimes, or Necessities, put it out of his Power to afford them Relief: *For such as these, he said publicly, cou'd not subsist without a Civil War.*

28. He was equally studious to insinuate himself with Kings and Provinces in all Parts of the World, giving a Thousand Captives to some, and sending auxiliary Troops to others, whither and whenever they desir'd them, without the Authority of the Senate and People; adorning also the Principal Cities of

of Italy, Gaul, Spain, Asia and Greece with splendid Edifices: till all Men being amaz'd, and reflecting what the Design of this Conduct might be, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, the Consul, having signified by an Edict he wou'd communicate to the Senate something of the highest Consequence to the Commonwealth, propos'd that a Successor shou'd be appointed to *Cæsar* before his Time was expir'd; for the War being at an end, the conquering Army ought to be disbanded; and that *Cæsar* shou'd not be allow'd to stand for the Consulship in his Absence; since the Law which *Pompey* made in that Case, had never been alter'd in a legal Manner. For it happen'd that in passing the Statute concerning Elections of Magistrates, he utterly forgot to except *Cæsar* from the Clause which disabled any to be Candidates, unless they appear'd on the spot; tho' after the Law was engraven in Brass, and deposited in the Treasury, he wou'd undertake by his own Authority to correct his Error. Nor did *Marcellus* think it sufficient thus to deprive *Cæsar* of his Provinces, and put him under this Incapacity, but he propounded also to disfranchise the Colonies, which in virtue of the *Vatinian* Law he had sent to *Novum Comum*, because their Freedom had been obtain'd by his Ambition, and was extended to a greater Number of Persons than the Law permitted.

29. *Cæsar* was allarm'd at this, and judging, as they say, he frequently declar'd, it wou'd be much more difficult for them to degrade him from the first Order in *Rome* to the second, than from the second to the lowest, labour'd all he cou'd to prevent it, partly by the Tribunes, who protested against these Proceedings, and partly by *Servius Sulpicius* the other Consul. And when these Measures were pursued in the following Year by *Caius Marcellus*, who succeeded his Kinsman *Marcus* in the Consulship, he bought off, with an extravagant Sum, *Æmilius Paullus*, Colleague to *Marcellus*, and *Caius Curius* the most violent of the Tribunes, and retain'd them on his side. But
seeing

seeing all things were impetuously carry'd against him, and that the new Consuls were chosen out of the contrary Faction, he besought the Senate by a Letter, that either he might not be divested of the Privilege which the People had granted him, or that the other Generals shou'd also be order'd to withdraw from their Troops at the same time; concluding, as 'tis imagin'd, he cou'd reassemble his Veterane Soldiers whenever he pleas'd, more easily than *Pompey* cou'd rally his new rais'd Men: And he offer'd his Enemies to give up eight Legions, and the *Transalpine Gaul*, provided he might have two Legions with the Province of *Cisalpine Gaul*, or one Legion with *Illyricum* continu'd to him till he shou'd be elected Consul.

30. But the Senate not interposing in this Affair, and his Adversaries refusing to come to any Agreement with him concerning these Articles, which were of a general Nature, and involv'd the whole Republick, he went into the nether *Gaul*, and having perform'd the Judicial Circuit, fix'd his Quarters at *Ravenna*, being determin'd, if the Senate pass'd any severe Decrees against the Tribunes who had declar'd in his Favour, to avenge it by Force of Arms. This was the Pretence he gave out to justify the Civil War which follow'd; tho' it is believ'd there were other Reasons which engag'd him in it. *Pompey's* Opinion was, that not being able at his own Expence to finish the Buildings he had begun, nor to answer the Expectations he had fill'd the People with, of what he wou'd do at his Return, he resolv'd to throw all things into a general Confusion. Others say, he was afraid he shou'd be made to account for his arbitrary Proceedings in his first Consulate, which were contrary to Religion, the Laws and the Remonstrances of other Magistrates. For *M. Cato* declar'd often, and even swore he would impeach him, as soon as ever he had dismiss'd his Army: And it was a popular Report, that if he came home in a private Character, he wou'd be arrested after the
Ex-

Example of *Milo*, and brought to his Trial under a Guard. And this carries the more Probability in it, because *Asinius Pollio* relates that *Cæsar* viewing the Slaughter of the Enemy at *Pharsalia*, cry'd out, *Themselves have done this: Unhappy Cæsar after all his glorious Actions, had been condemn'd, if he had not implor'd Help of his Army.* Some indeed imagine, that elevated by having been long accusom'd to command, and computing his own and his Enemies Forces, he embrac'd this Occasion of seizing that Dominion, upon which from his Childhood he had fix'd his Views. And *Cicero* seems to have been of this Mind: For in the Third Book of his Offices, he says *Cæsar* had these Verses of *Euripides* continually in his Mouth,

*Nam si violandum est jus, regnandi gratia
Violandum est: aliis rebus pietatem colas.*

If Sacred Right may e'er be trampled down,
'Tis when the Prize propounded is a Crown:
In other things be just and Vertue own. } 3

31. Receiving Advice therefore, that the Protests of the Tribunes on his Behalf were rejected, and themselves oblig'd to retire from the City, he caus'd his Troops to move off secretly before; and not to awaken any Suspicion, appear'd at the publick Shews, and consulted about a Plan of a Fencing-School which he intended to erect, and eat frequently in Publick, after his usual manner. But immediately at Sun-set he brought forth some Mules he had conceal'd ready at hand in a neighbouring Bakehouse, and putting them into his Chariot set forward very privately with a slender Attendance: The Torches going out on the Road, he lost his Way, and wander'd all Night, till meeting with a Guide at Break of Day, he pursu'd his Journey on Foot thro' narrow and difficult Paths; and coming up to his Forces at the River *Rubicon*, the Boundary of his Province, he
made

made a Pause, and revolving in himself the Importance of the Action he was about to undertake, he turn'd to those who stood by, *At yet, says he, we have it in our Power to retreat; but if we once pass this little Bridge, we must thenceforth manage all things by the Sword.*

32. As he linger'd, there was presented to him this Omen. A Person of a large Stature and graceful Mein, suddenly appear'd sitting near him, and playing on a Pastoral Pipe, and when beside the Shepherds, several Soldiers forsook their Ranks, and gather'd round to hear him, and among them some Trumpeters; the Appearance snatch'd one of their Trumpets, and plunging into the River blew a vigorous Charge, and swam to the other side; *Let us go, said Caesar, whither the Omen of the Gods, and the Inhumanity of our Enemies call us. The Die is cast.*

33. Having thus pass'd over his Army, and receiv'd the Tribunes who fled to him upon their Expulsion, he made an Oration to the Soldiers; and with Tears in his Eyes, and his Garments all rent, passionately intreated them not to desert him. It was also reported, that he promis'd to advance each Man to the *Equestris* Order; but this happen'd by a Mistake. For frequently shewing the Ring Finger of his left Hand in the Vehemence of the Harangue, he declar'd he wou'd very willingly divest himself of that Ensign of Honour, for the sake of any who shou'd assist him in defending his Dignity, the farther Part of the Audience, who cou'd better see the Speaker than hear him, imagin'd that to be express'd in the Discourse, which was only discern'd by their Eyes: And hence it was immediately divulg'd, that the Honour of the Ring and four hundred thousand Sesterces were promis'd them. I shall briefly relate his Actions which succeeded, in the Order they were perform'd.

34. He seiz'd on *Ficenum*, *Umbria* and *Etruria*, and forcing *L. Demitius*, who had been nominated for his Successor in the Hurry of the late Debates, and now held

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JULIUS CÆSAR. 21

held *Consinium* with a Garrison, to surrender: He releas'd him and coasted the *Adriatick* Sea to *Brundisium*, whither *Pompey* and the Consuls had fled, intending to embark without delay. Having in vain attempted to shut them up in the Port, he march'd away to *Rome*; and after he had assembled the Senate upon the present Disposition of Affairs, he advanc'd against the bravest and best appointed of all *Pompey's* Forces, which were then commanded by three Lieutenants in *Spain*, *M. Petrius*, *L. Afranius*, and *M. Varro*, telling his Friends at his Departure, He was going to meet an Army without a General, but he shou'd come back to meet a General without an Army. And tho' he was retarded by the Siege of *Marseilles*, which shut the Gates against him in his Passage, and by an extreme Scarcity of Provision, yet he made a compleat Conquest in a very little time.

35. Returning hence to *Rome*, he went into *Macedonia*, and having block'd up *Pompey* for almost four Months, by an amazing Preparation of Military Works, he at last totally routed him in the Battle of *Pharsalia*, and pursu'd him to *Alexandria*; where finding him murder'd, he turn'd his Arms, tho' under extraordinary Difficulties, against King *Ptolomy*, who, he perceiv'd, was also practising against his Life. The Place and the Season of the Year were both disadvantageous; for it was Winter, and he was enclos'd, bare and unprovided of Necessaries, within the City of a well furnish'd and subtle Enemy. After the Victory, he entrusted the Kingdom of *Egypt* with *Cleopatra* and her younger Brother, being afraid to make it a Province, lest coming some time or other under the Command of an enterprising Governor, it shou'd be the Occasion of new Commotions. From *Alexandria* he went into *Syria*, and from thence to *Pontus*, being hasten'd thither by repeated Advices concerning *Pharnaces*, the Son of *Mithridates* the Great, whom, taking advantage of the Roman Confusions to begin a War, and insolent with numerous Successes, *Cæsar* finally vanquish'd in a single

single Battle within five Days after his Arrival, and four Hours after he came in sight of the Enemy. Upon which he frequently observ'd the good Fortune of Pompey, who had purchas'd the greater part of his Military Glory by engaging so weak and enervate a Foe. After this, Scipio and Juba rallying the shatter'd Remnants of their Party in *Africk*, he routed them, and Pompey's Sons in *Spain*.

36. In all the Civil Wars he receiv'd no Defeat, unless it were in his Lieutenants; of whom C. Curio was kill'd in *Africa*, C. Antonius was taken by the Enemy in *Illyricum*, and P. Dolabella lost his Fleet in the same Place, and Ca. Demitius Calvinus his Army. When he fought in Person he was always successful, and was never in the least Hazard of the Event, except twice; once at *Dyrrachium*, where he gave Ground, and Pompey not pushing the Advantage, he said Pompey knew not how to conquer; another time, in his last Battel in *Spain*, where he was brought into so desperate a Posture, that he was on the Point of dispatching himself with his own Hands.

37. The Wars being finish'd, he made five Triumphs, four of which were perform'd after the overthrow of Scipio, in one Month, but at some Days distance; and the fifth was upon the Defeat of Pompey's Sons. The first and most splendid was the *Gallick*, the second was the *Alexandrine*, the next the *Pontick*, then came the *African*, and lastly the *Spanish*; in all which the Decorations and Invention were different. The Day of the *Gallick* Triumph, as he was passing by the * *Velabrum*, he narrowly escap'd being thrown out of the Chariot, by the breaking of the Axis. He ascended the Capitol with Torches, forty Elephants marching on each Hand, with Flambeaus. Among the Pageants and Representations in the *Pontick* Triumph, there was borne before him a Device

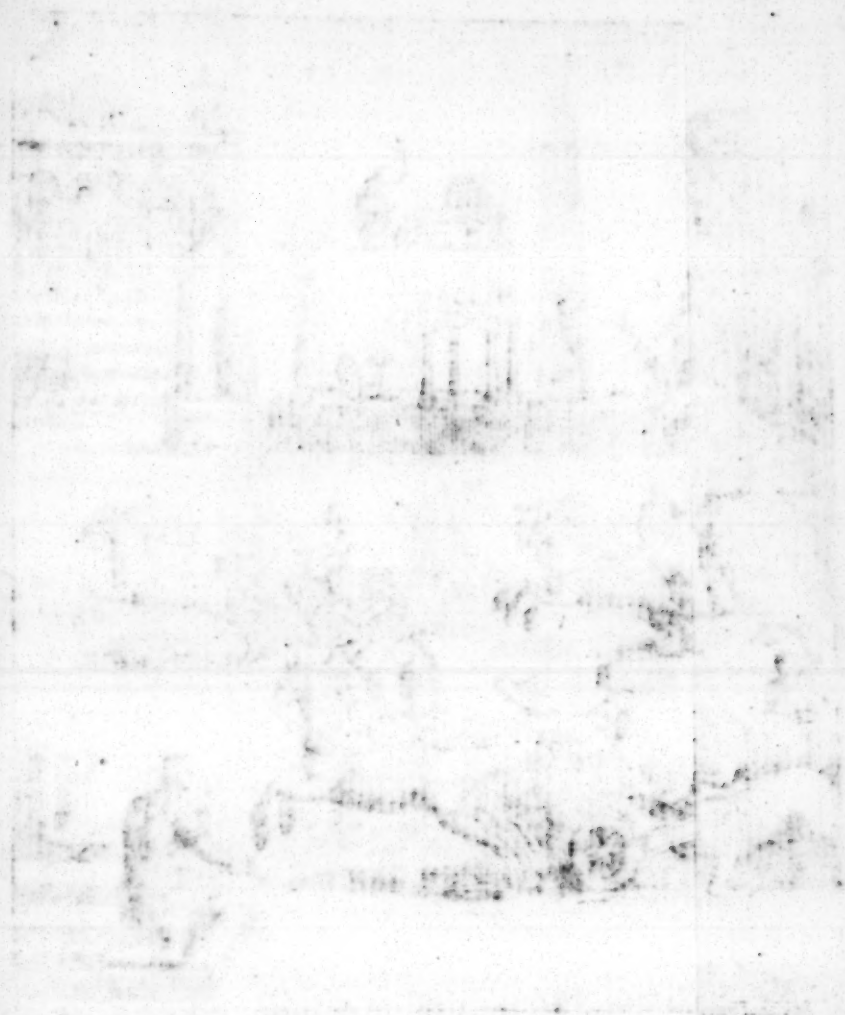
* A Place in Rome, near the Oxen-Market, in which Tradesmen's Booths were erected for selling several sorts of Goods.

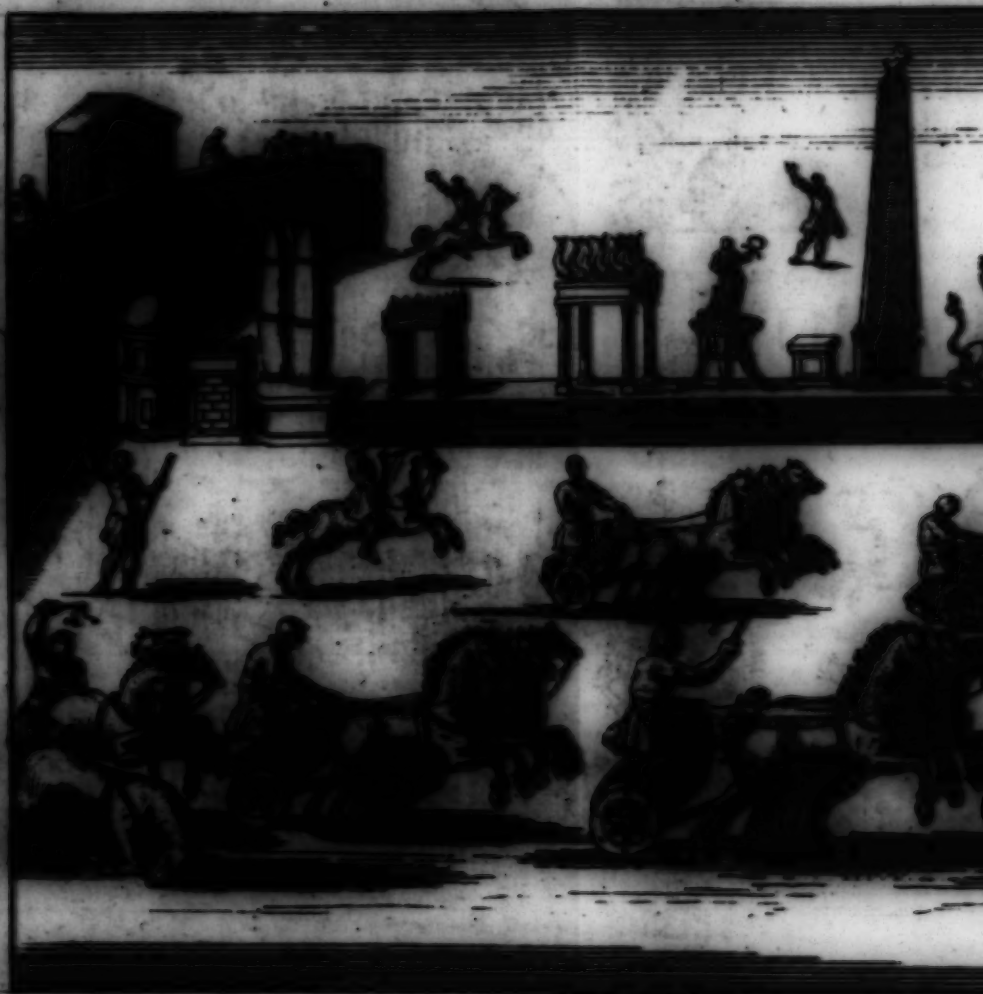
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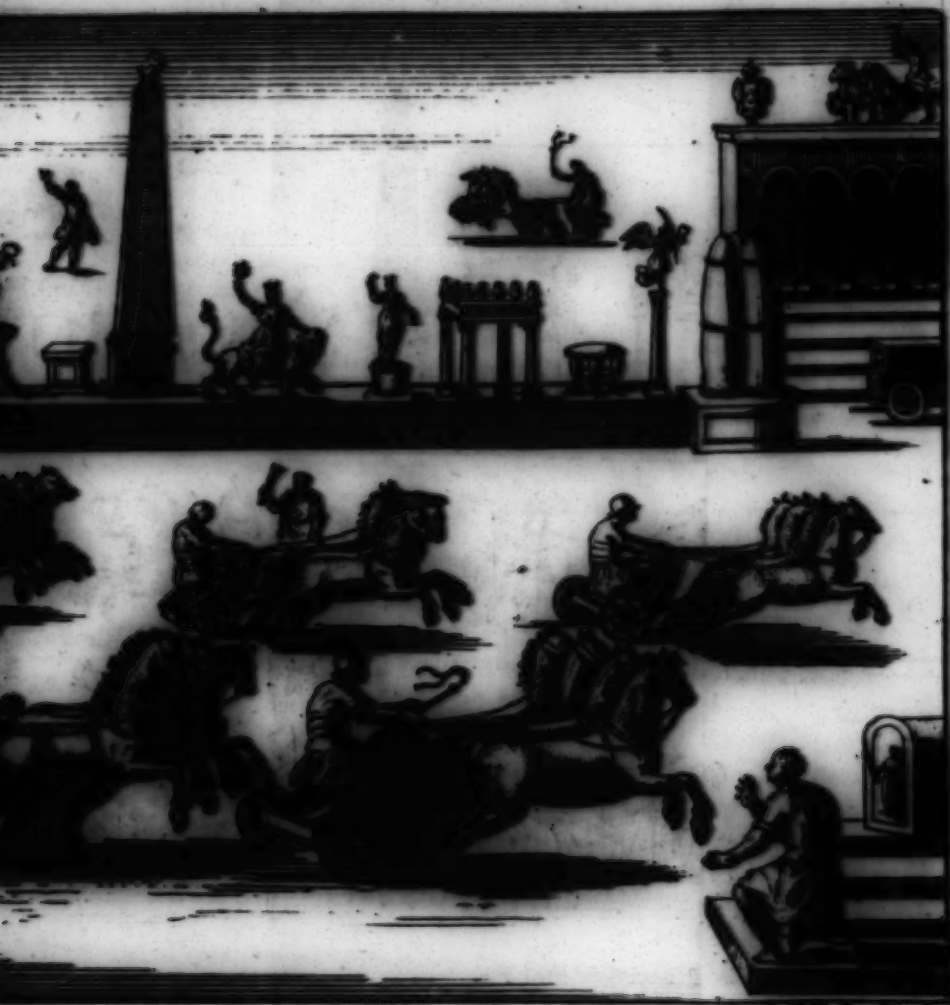
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vice of three Words; *VENI, VIDI, VICI*; *I CAME, I SAW, I CONQUER'D*; not expressing, like the others, the Actions of the War, but the wonderful Celerity of the Conquest.

38. Instead of Plunder he gave to the Foot of the Veteran Legions, twenty Thousand Sesterces a Man, beside the Two thousand he had divided among them at the beginning of the War, and to the Horse Forty thousand. He also assign'd them Lands, but in several Parts of the Country, lest otherwise the Proprietors shou'd be wholly dispossest'd. To the People, besides ten Bushels of Corn, and as many Pints of Oil, he gave three Hundred Sesterces apiece, which he had formerly promis'd them, and threw in a Hundred more to make amends for delay of Payment. He remitted one Year's Rent to them who paid two Thousand Sesterces a Year in *Rome*, or not above five Hundred in *Italy*, and made a Publick Feast, and the usual Distribution of raw Flesh from House to House; and after his *Spanish* Victory he treated with two Dinners: For thinking the former too sparing, and beneath his Munificence to bestow, he presented, five Days after, another very costly and delicate.

39. He exhibited Shews of several Kinds; Gladiators combated, and Plays were perform'd in every Part of the City by Actors of all Languages; there were also the *Circusian* Games, Wrestling, and Sea-Fights. *Furius Lepidus*, who was of a *Pretorian* Family, and *Q. Calpurnius*, formerly a Senator and Pleader at the Bar, fought a Prize in the *Forum*. Princes Sons of *Asia* and *Bithynia* danc'd the † *Pyrrick* Dance. *Decimus Laberius*, a Roman Knight, play'd the *Mimus* in a Scene of his own writing, and * receiving the Purse

† A Dance perform'd by Men in Armour.

* He had lost his Quality by Acting, to which Cæsar now restor'd him, by giving him the Estate and Badge of a Roman Knight.

Purse of five Hundred Thousand Sesterces and the Gold Ring, he came off the Stage and proudly pass'd along by the Senators Seats, and took his Place among the Knights. To make it commodious for the Games, the Circus was enlarg'd on every side, and moated round with a Canal. Young Noblemen vaulted, and drove the Race-Chariots; and two Troops consisting one of elder Boys, and the other of younger, perform'd the Trojan Exercise. Huntings of wild Beasts were continu'd five Days successively: And lastly a Battle was represented, five Hundred Foot, twenty Elephants, and three Hundred Horse engaging on a Side; and to give the Combatants Field Room, the Goals at each End of the Plain were remov'd, and two opposite Camps were pitch'd there in their stead. The Wrestlers contended for three Days, in a Place purposely prepar'd in the *Campus Martius*. A Canal was cut in the left * *Caelia*, upon which a Sea-Fight was acted by *Tyrian* and *Egyptian* Gallies of two, of three and of four Pairs of Oars, each carrying a large Complement of Men. To all which Spectacles such Crowds resorted from every Quarter, that Multitudes of Strangers were oblig'd to lodge in straggling Hamlets, or under Sheds built up in the Streets; and sometimes several were stifled to death in the Press, among whom were two Senators.

40. Addressing himself after this to modelling the State, he first reform'd the Kalendar, which was brought into such Confusion by the Remissness of the High Priests, who made the Intercalation uncertainly and at pleasure, that the Harvest neither happened in the Summer Quarter, nor the Vintage in the Autumnal. He accommodated the Year to the Course of the Sun, and made it consist of 365 Days, and striking out the Leap-Month, added a Day to every fourth Year. And that a more just Calculation might be preserv'd to Posterity, he began his Account

* A large Field so call'd, beyond the Tiber.

count from the Kalends of January, and inserted two Months between November and December; by which Means the Year, when this Regulation was made, contain'd fifteen Months; for the Leap Month fell into it of course.

41. He fill'd up the Vacancies in the Senate, created new Patricians, and enlarg'd the Number of the Pretors, Ediles, Questors, and of the inferior Magistrates, restoring those who had been remov'd by the Censors, or whom the Judges had condemn'd for Corruption in Elections. He assum'd an equal Share with the People in choosing Magistrates; so that one half of the Candidates for any Office, excepting the Consulate, were to be nominated by them, while he appointed the other: At which times he us'd to send round the Tribes a short Letter in this Form; *Cæsar the Dictator to such a Tribe. I recommend to you such an one to be chosen by your Suffrages into such a Place.* He also made the Children of those who were proscrib'd, capable of bearing Honours; and restrain'd all Trials to two Sorts of Judges; namely, to such as were of the Equestrian and Senatorian Rank; abolishing the Tribunes of the Treasury, who had compos'd a Third. He made a Review of the People, but neither after the ancient Manner, nor in the usual Place; for it was perform'd from Street to Street by the several Landlords: And of 2300000 who had Corn allow'd them from the Publick Stores, he reduc'd the Number to 150000. And to prevent any tumultuous Concourse, which might be hereafter occasion'd by making such another Review, he ordain'd the Pretor shou'd by Lot annually supply the Vacancies which fell by Deaths, with some who had not been enroll'd in this Number before.

42. Having sent out Eighty Thousand Citizens to the Foreign Colonies, in order to repopulate the City which was exhausted by the Draught, he order'd, That no Citizen exceeding Twenty, and under Forty Years of Age, who was not serving in the Army, shou'd be absent from Italy above three Years together;

ther; nor any Senator's Son be permitted to travel, unless he belong'd to some Magistrate's Train: And oblig'd the Breeders of Cattel to have at least a Third Part of their Herdsmen Free-men's Sons. He made all Physicians and Teachers of Liberal Arts free of the City, at once to encourage them to inhabit there, and to invite others thither. Concerning the Debtors, who were in expectation of an Act of Absolvence which had been often solicited, he at last decreed they shou'd satisfy their Creditors according to the Value at which they had purchased their Possessions before the Civil War, deducting from the Principal whatever they had paid or agreed to for Interest. By which means the Creditors lost almost a Fourth Part of the Debt. All City Companies, unless those of an ancient Institution, he abolish'd, and augmented the Punishments of Criminals. And since the Rich were embolden'd to oft' any Villany, because they were suffer'd to carry off all their Patrimony with them in their Exile, he ordain'd, as Ciceró relates, that Murderers shou'd lose the whole, and other Offenders half of their Estates.

43. He administr'd Justice with the utmost Application and Severity, † degrading from their Order, even if it were the Senatorian, any who were convicted of Bribery. He revers'd the Marriage of a Person of the Pretorian Rank, because he had marry'd a Woman within Two Days after her Divorce from a former Husband, tho' there was not the least Suspicion of Dishonesty. He laid a Duty upon Foreign Commodities; and prohibited the use of Litters, of the Purple Garment, and of Jewels, unless to certain Persons, and of such an Age, and upon particular Days. He caus'd the Sumptuary Laws to be strictly executed; placing Overseers round the Shambles, to seize and bring away to him all prohibited Provisions; and sometimes when any happen'd to escape the

† Before they were only banish'd and sold, but did not forfeit their Quality.

the first Officers, he secretly sent a Band of Lictors and Soldiers home to the Family, who had bought them, to carry off the Meat, tho' it was serv'd to Table before they came.

44. And now he was every day forming new and more noble Inventions for adorning and enlarging the City, and establishing and amplifying his Power. Thus he intended to erect a Temple to *Mars*, far beyond what had been ever known; and to this end the Lake in which he had presented the Sea-Fight, was to be fill'd up and levell'd. He projected a Theatre of a wonderful Magnitude near the *Tarpeian* Mountain; and undertook to reduce the Civil Law into Compass, and out of a diffus'd and infinire Multitude of Statutes, to select the most valuable and necessary, and comprize them in a few Volumes. He resolv'd to found a noble Library of *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, the Collecting and Digesting of which he entrusted to *Varro*. He propos'd also to drain the Marshes of *Pomptina*, to discharge the *Fucine* Lake, and pave a Cauley from the *Adriatick* Shore across the Ridge of the *Alps* quite to the *Tiber*; to cut thro' the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*, and drive back the *Daci*, who had overrun *Pontus* and *Thrace*; and afterwards to open a War against the *Parthians* in *Armenia* the less, but * not give them Battel before he had made some Essays of the Force and Genius of their Nation. But as he was marking out such Designs, he was prevented from putting them in Execution, by his Death: Before I speak of which, it will not be improper briefly to describe his Person and Habit, his Behaviour and Manners, and such Particulars as relate to his Civil and Military Exercises.

45. He is said to have been of a lofty Stature, a fair Complexion, and well proportion'd in his Limbs; C 2

* Caesar resolv'd upon this Precaution, that he might not fall into the same Misfortune with *Crassus*, who was cut off with his whole Army by the treacherous Artifices of the *Parthians*, and thro' his Ignorance of their manner of Fighting.

somewhat full-fac'd, with black and sparkling Eyes ; and very healthy, except that toward the End of his Life he was subject to sudden Swoonings, and to be frightened in his Dreams. He was also surpris'd twice with the Falling Sicknefs in the midst of Business. In the Care of his Body he was so extremely nice, that he wou'd not only be exactly shaven, but even caus'd the Hairs to be taken out by the Root, as some have reproach'd him. He was very much troubled at his Baldness, which he observ'd was frequently made the Sport of malignant Wits ; and therefore to supply this Defect, he us'd to bring his Hair forward from the Crown of his Head. And of all his Honours decreed him by the Senate and People, he receiv'd none more gratefully, nor us'd with more Delight, than the Privilege of constantly wearing a Laurel. He was particular, as it is reported, in his Dress ; for he wore his Senator's Coat with Fringes at the Wrists, and always girt it about him, tho' very loosely ; which occasion'd the Saying of Sylla, who often warn'd the Nobles to beware of the ill-girt Truth.

46. At first he dwelt in a common House in the † *Subura* ; but after his Pontificate he liv'd in one of the publick Buildings in the *Via Sacra*. 'Tis said he wonderfully affected Neatness, and was very fond of making Entertainments. The Villa which he began in the *Arminian* Grove from the Foundation, and finish'd with great Expence, not answering his Expectation, he pull'd it down again to the Ground, tho' he was then necessitous and much in Debt. In his Expeditions he always carry'd with him a Pavement of chequer'd Marble to lay down for a Flooring in his Tent.

47. The Thing which invited him to *Britain* was the Hope of the Pearls which lay on that Coast, whose Weight he us'd to examine by his Hand, and accurately compar'd their Bulk. He greedily collected Jewels, Works of *Low Relief*, Statues and Paintings of Antiquity ;

† A famous Street in Rome.

Antiquity; and wou'd purchase graceful and unbroken Slaves at an immense Price, of which he was so aſham'd, that he order'd it not to be enter'd in his Accounts.

48. During his Government in the Provinces he always kept Two open Tables; at one of which the meaner People and the *Greeks* were receiv'd, and at the other the *Roman* Nobility and the moſt Honourable Perſons of the Province. He was ſo ſevere in his Domeſtick Diſcipline, with reſpect to trivial Matters as well as greater, that he once laid his Baker in Irons for not ſerving the ſame Sort of Bread to the Gueſts, as to himſelf; and put to death a Freed-Man, his particular Favourite, for debauching the Wife of a *Roman* Knight, tho' no Complaint was brought againſt him for it.

49. His * Chſtity ſuffer'd no Imputation, but from his cohabiting with *Nicomedes*, which was a deep and eternal Blemiſh, and made him the Subject of every one's Reflections. I omit the known Verſes of *Calvus Licinius*,

— what's *Bithynia's* Land
And *Cæſar's* Royal Lover cou'd command.

And the Accuſations of *Dolabella* and *Curio* the Father, in which *Dolabella* ſtyles him *The Corrupter of the Queen*, and *Bodſellow to the King*; and *Curio* calls him *Nicomedes's Stable*, and *the Stew of Bithynia*. I paſs over alſo the Edicts of *Bibulus*, wherein he terms his Colleague *The Queen of Bithynia*; and ſays, *That as before he had a Paſſion for a King, he was now in Love with a Kingdom*. At this time, as *M. Brutus* relates, one *Oſſorius*, a Fellow who boldly threw out any thing without Fear or Diſcretion, having in a numerous Aſſembly given *Jumpy* the Appellation of King,

C 3

* It may be proper to obſerve once for all, that *Suetonius* by Chſtity does not mean abſtaining from Fornication and Adultery, but from Sodomy.

King, saluted *Caesar* with that of Queen. Nay, *C. Memmius* asserts, that he was Cup-bearer to the King, and waited among a Croud of overgrown *Camtamites* at a publick Treat, when several *Roman Merchants* were at Table; whose Names he mentions. Nor was *Cicero* satisfy'd with declaring in some of his Epistles that being led into the Royal Chamber by the Guards, and plac'd in a Purple Habit on a Golden Bed, the magnificent Youth, who was descended from *Venus*, polluted the Flower of his Age in *Bithynia*; but as *Caesar* was pleading in the Senate in behalf of *Nysa*, the Daughter of *Nicomedes*, and commemorated the Kindnesses he had receiv'd from her Father, *Pray*. says Tully, let us hear no more of this, since 'tis well known what the King gave to you, and what you gave to the King. In a word: Among the Verses which the Soldiers, who attended his Chariot in the Gallick Triumph, sung merrily as they pass'd, they repeated these remarkable Lines.

* *Gallias Caesar subegit, Nicomedes Casarem:*
Ecce Caesar nunc triumphat, qui subegit Gallias:
Nicomedes non triumphat, qui subegit Casarem.

Caesar has *Gallia* subjected to Rome;
Nicomedes has *Caesar* himself overcome:
 Now *Caesar* triumphs, who beat *Gaul* to a Wonder,
 But the King has no Triumph, who brought *Caesar*
 [under.

50. He was always believ'd to have been extremely lascivious, and very expensive in his Loves, corrupting a great many Women, and several of Noble Rank; among whom were *Possunia* the Wife of *Servius Sulpicius*, *Lollia* of *Aulus Gabinus*, *Tertulla* of *M. Crassus*, and even *Mucia* the Wife of *Cn. Pompey*. For it

* The Satire of these Verses lies in the Word *subegit*; which, when apply'd to *Caesar*, signifies simply his conquering the Gauls, and when apply'd to *Nicomedes*, it has an impure Sense, and signifies his defiling of *Caesar*.

it is certain, that Pompey was upbraided by Cato, the Father and Son, and by others, that his Ambition of Power had caus'd him to marry the Daughter of that Man, on whose account he had divorc'd his Wife after she had born him Three Children, and whom he had often with Indignation pronounc'd a Second Ægisthus. But his prevailing Affection was to M. Brutus's Mother, Servilia; to whom he presented in his Consulship a Pearl valu'd at Sixty Hundred Thousand Sesterces; and besides other Gifts in the Civil War, he procur'd for her in the Publick Sales several noble Estates at an inconsiderable Purchase. And when some wondred at the Cheapness of the Price, You'd think it a more lumping Bargain still, said Cicero facetiously, if ye knew that ** Tertia est deducta*. For it was commonly believ'd, that Servilia had presented her Daughter Tertia to Caesar.

51. Nor did he spare the Wives of Provincial Men, as appears by this Distich sung also by the Soldiers at the Gallick Triumph.

*Urbani servate uxores, machum calvum adducimus,
Autum in Gallia, &c.*

Your Wives, good Citizens, with Care restrain,
The bald Adulterer is come home again.
In Gaul his Mistresses still cost him dear;
But now at your Expence he'll borrow here.

52. He had a Passion also for several Queens; among whom was Rume a Moorish Queen, the Wife of Sigus, upon whom and upon her Husband he bestow'd many magnificent Presents, as Neso reports, But Cleopatra was the Sovereign of his Heart, with

C 4

whom

** This Joke of Cicero turns upon the double Meaning of the Words Tertia and deducta; which signify literally, that a Third Part of the Price was abated, but in the allusive Sense, that Tertia was given up to Caesar's Embraces.*

whom he often sat feasting till Break of Day, and whom he had certainly accompany'd in the same Pleasure Boat as far as *Aethiopia*, if the Army had not flatly refus'd to follow him. And at her Departure from *Rome*, whither his Invitation had drawn her, he profusely heap'd on her the noblest Honours and Gifts, and consented she shou'd call her Son by his Name, who, according to some *Greek* Writers, resembled *Caesar* both in his Person and Gate. And *M. Antonius* declar'd to the Senate, that *Caesar* had own'd him, and that *C. Marius* and *C. Oppius*, and other Friends of *Caesar*, knew this to be true: And *Oppius*, as if the Affair stood in need of a Vindication, publish'd a Treatise to prove, *The Son whom Cleopatra laid to him, was none of Caesar's*. *Helvius Cinna* the Tribune acknowledg'd to several, that he had by him a Bill ready engross'd, which *Caesar* had order'd him to cause to be pass'd in his Absence, by which he shou'd be empower'd to marry what and as many Wives as he pleas'd, for the sake of having Issue. And to put it past Question, that he was infamous for passive Impurity and for Adulteries, *Cicero* the Father calls him in an Oration, *Every Woman's Man, and every Man's Woman*.

53. His Enemies have always allow'd him to be no Drinker. For it was a Saying of *M. Cato*, that *Caesar* was the only sober Man who ever went to overturn the State. *C. Octavius* says he was so indifferent as to his Eating, that his Host having once serv'd up a rank stale Oil, instead of fresh drawn, the rest of the Guests wou'd not touch it, but *Caesar* eat of it very largely, that he might not seem to accuse his Host of Carelessness or ill Breeding.

54. In all his Employments and Offices he never practis'd Self-denial in Matters of Gain. For as some Histories assure us, he beg'd Money of the Proconsul and the Allies in Spain, to help him to clear off his Debts; and he plunder'd several Towns in Portugal, tho' they had not disobey'd his Orders, and had readily open'd their Gates to him at his Approach. In

Gaul

God he rifled the Fanes and Temples of the Gods, which were enrich'd with Oblations, and demolish'd some Cities, more for the sake of the Booty, than in Revenge of any Offence. By these Means he amass'd abundance of Gold, and was able to sell in Italy and the Provinces, the Surplus which was beyond what his private Occasions requir'd, for * Three Thousand Sesterces a Pound. In his first Consulship he robb'd the Capitol of Three Thousand Pounds Weight of Gold, leaving so much gilded Brass in the room of it. And whatever Foreigners were desirous of the Title of Allies or Kings, he oblig'd them to purchase it; and even from Ptolemy alone he drew near Six Thousand Talents upon Pompey's Account and his own: And at last he supported the prodigious Expences of the Civil War, and his Triumphs and Shews, by open Rapine and Sacrilege. In Eloquence and Military Conduct he equall'd, if not exceeded the Reputation of the most celebrated Men in either Art.

55. After his Impeachment of Dolabella, he was always esteem'd as one of the principal Pleaders of his Age. And Cicero, we know, enumerating the chief Orators in his Treatise inscrib'd to Brutus, declares, *He did not know one whom Cæsar had any reason to give place to. He says, His Manner of Expression was elegant, shining and magnificent, and very general: And in a Letter to Cornelius Nepos, for which, says he, of the Orators, even of them who have wholly apply'd themselves to the Profession, will you prefer to Cæsar? Whose Sentences are more pointed, or whose Words are more nobly and beautifully chosen?* In his Youth he seems to have made Strabo Cæsar his Pattern in Eloquence; from whose Oration for the City of Sardis, he has verbally taken several Passages in his Plea intitul'd *The Divination*. He pronounc'd with an acute Tone of Voice, and with a Gesture ardent and lively, and not ungraceful. There are several Orations of his remaining;

C 5

among

* Hardly above 161 Sterling.

among which some are inadvertently number'd : as for Instance, that for *Q. Metellus*, which *Augustus* justly concludes, is rather a Copy taken imperfectly at the Time of speaking, by the Notaries, than a just one publish'd by himself. For in some Manuscripts I see it is not inscrib'd, *Pro Metellus*, but—*which he wrote to Metellus*, the Oration running in the Person of *Caesar*, who undertakes to justify *Metellus* and himself from the Imputations of their common Accusers. The *Harangue*, also, to the *Soldiers* in *Spain*, *Augustus* thinks is scarcely genuine : There are Two of this Kind, one made before his first, and the other before his last Engagement in those Parts ; but *Asinius Pollio* says, the Attack of the Enemy was then so precipitate, that there was no Time allow'd to make a Speech.

56. He has left Commentaries of his own Actions, and of the *Gallick* and *Civil War*. For the History of the Wars of *Alexandria*, *Africa* and *Spain*, is the Work of an uncertain Author, some ascribing it to *Oppian*, and others to *Hirtius*, who finish'd the last Book of the *Gallick War*, which was imperfect. Concerning the Commentaries of *Caesar*, *Cicero*, in his Discourse to *Brutus* mention'd above, thus gives his Opinion, His Commentaries are indeed freely written ; they are plain, correct, and handsomely compos'd, without Embellishments of Style. And while he has thus prepar'd the Materials of a History for any who are willing to undertake it, he has perhaps oblig'd the Writers of a gay and frivolous *Genius*, who will be ready to touch up his Work with all the Colours and Decorations they can, but he has certainly deterr'd all sober and sensible Men from writing. *Hirtius* says of them, They are so universally approv'd, that he seems rather to have prevented other Writers, than to have assisted them. They appear to me more wonderful to me, than to others ; because tho' others see them correct and just they are, yet I know how readily and swiftly he wrote them. *Pollio Asinius* takes them not to be compos'd with sufficient Exactness and Fidelity ; because *Caesar* has rashly set down many things upon Trust which were per-

perform'd by others, and even what he acted himself, he has related very exactly, either on purpose or thro' Forgetfulness, and therefore he supposes he intended to revise and mend them. He has left Two Books concerning *Ætology*, and Two written against *Cato*, under the Title of *Anti-Cato's*; also a Poem call'd *The Journey*. He wrote the first Two in his Passage over the *Alps*, as he return'd to the Army from the Judicial Circuit in the higher *Gaul*; the next he compos'd about the time of the Battle of *Munda*, and the last when he march'd in Twenty four Days from *Rome* to the farther *Spain*. There are also extant Letters of his to the Senate, by which it seems he was the first who wrote from Leaf to Leaf, in the Form of a Note-Book; for before it was the Custom of the Consuls and Generals to leave a convenient Space on each Hand, and when they had fill'd the Side, to turn the Paper and write along the Margin, and not to begin upon another Leaf. There are Epistles of his to *Cicero* and to his Friends about domestick Affairs; in which, when he design'd to communicate a Secret, he us'd Characters, placing the Letters in so inverted an Order, that it was impossible to make an entire Word out of them; but the Way to decypher them, is to exchange every Fourth Letter in the Alphabet, and read *d* for *a*, and so of the rest. He is said also to have written some things when he was very young, as *The Praises of Hercules*, *A Tragedy of OEdipus*, and *A Collection of Sayings*; all which *Augustus* forbid to be publish'd, in a plain and concise Letter which he sent to *Pompeius Magnus*, whom he had employ'd to compile a Library.

37. He was perfect Master of his Weapons, and a compleat Horseman, and patient of Labour beyond Belief, marching before his Troops sometimes on Horseback, but oftner on Foot, and bareheaded in all Weather, whether it was open Sunshine or Rain.

* These were in Answer to a Treatise of *Cicero*, entitul'd *Cato*, in Praise of *Cato of Utica*.

Ratū. He perform'd Marches of a surprising Length with an incredible Celerity, travelling a Hundred Miles a Day in an ordinary Carriage. If Rivers oppos'd him in his Way, he swam over, or pass'd them on Bladders, so that he often prevented the News of his Approach. In undertaking an Enterprize 'tis uncertain whether he was more cautious or daring.

§ 8. He never led his Army thro' hazardous Ways, till he had first well survey'd the Situation of the Country; nor did he make the Descent upon Britain before he had in Person view'd the Ports, the Seas, and the Avenues of the Coast. Yet this same Cæsar, when he heard his Camp was besieg'd in Germany, ventur'd singly into the Enemy's Quarters in the Habit of a Gaul, and boldly pass'd thro' them to his own Men: And once in the middle of Winter he made his Way thro' Two Fleets of the Enemy from Brundisium to Dyrrachium; and the Troops he had order'd to follow him, not coming up, after several Messengers to hasten them, at last muffled up himself, he put to Sea in a small Boat by Night, without any Attendant; nor did he discover himself, or suffer the Pilot to lie by for the Storm, till he was almost overfet by the Waves.

§ 9. He was never terrified or diverted from his Designs by any Religious Omens. When the Victim broke loose and ran away from the Sacrificer, it did not cause him to defer his Expedition against Scipio and Juba. And he turn'd the Omen of his Falling down at his Landing to a fortunate Sense, crying out, *aspice, & tunc embrace tæc.* And to elude the Prophecies, that the Name of the Scipio's was fated to be glorious and invincible in those Parts, he kept a detestable Creature of that Family in the Camp, who in Contempt was call'd *Salutis*.

60. He

† This was always look'd upon as a very ill Presage.
A Nick-Name given him from Salutis an infamous Player.

60. He gave Battle not only at appointed Times; but also upon any sudden Occasion which was presented him; and often began the Fight immediately after a March, and in the foulest Weather, when no one cou'd imagine he wou'd have been in Motion. Not did he shew of this Forwardness to Action, till the latter Part of his Life; and then it became his Opinion, that the oftner he had conquer'd, the less Reason he had to put his Fortune to Hazard, and that the Advantages of a Victory cou'd not equal the Injury and Mischiefs, which wou'd arise from one Defeat. He never routed an Enemy, but he also drove him from his Camp, and so gave him no Time to recover from his Confusion. If a Battle was doubtful, he sent all the Horses out of the Field, beginning with his own, that the Soldiers might stand to their Arms more desperately, when they saw themselves depriv'd of the Means of Flight.

61. The Horse he rode on, was very remarkable; for his Feet almost resembled a Man's, and his Hoofs divided in the manner of Toes. *Cæsar* had bred him very tenderly from a Foal, because the Sooth-sayers declar'd he portended to his Owner the Empire of the World; and when the Beast wou'd admit no other Rider, he back'd him first himself, and afterwards crested him, a Statue before the Temple of *Penis Genetrix*.

62. He often resor'd the Fight, when it was flagging, by his single Bravery, planting himself full in the Way of those who fled, and stopping several, drew them back by Force, and turn'd their Face to the Enemy, even when they were in such a wonderful Consternation, that a Standard-Bearer whom he laid hold on in his Flight, offer'd at him with the pointed End of his Staff; and another breaking from him in the Struggle, ran away, leaving the Ensign in his Hand.

63. He gave yet greater Instances of the Intrepidity and Firmness of his Mind. After the Battle of *Phar-*

Phaetusa, having sent his Forces before him into *Asia*, as he was passing the Straights of the *Hellispoint* in a small Transport; he met *L. Cassius*, who belong'd to the Enemy's Party, with Ten Ships of War; nor did he shun him; but bearing up to him, call'd out, and advis'd him to yield, and upon his Submission receiv'd him into his Vessel.

64. A sudden Sally of the Enemy at the taking of the Bridge at *Alusandria* forc'd him into a narrow Skiff, and a great many crowding in with him, and overcharging the Boat, he leap'd into the Sea; and swim Two hundred Paces to the next Ship, holding his Left Hand above the Water, in his Coat, to preserve his Papers, and dragging along his General's Robe in his Teeth, that the Enemy might not triumph in so noble a Spoil.

65. In his Soldiers he solely regarded Fortitude and Strength, and not an Education or Estate; governing them equally by Severity and by Indulgence. For he did not keep them to strict Duty at all Times and Places, but only when the Enemy was near, and then he was very rigid in his Discipline; never signifying to them beforehand at what Hour he design'd to march or to fight, but obliging them to be continually prepar'd whenever he saw fit to give the Signal; which he wou'd frequently do when there was no Occasion; especially in wet Weather and Holidays; and sometimes ordering them to watch him narrowly, he took an Opportunity to slip from them either by Day or in the Night, and march'd away privately, halting forward with the utmost Speed, on purpose to fatigue such as did not immediately follow him.

66. If the Report of the Enemy's Forces had struck a Dump into his Troops, his Expedient to alimate them and raise their Spirits was not by denying or lessening the Rumour, but by amplifying it, and making it greater than in Truth it was. Thus, when the Expectation of *Julius's* Approach had terrify'd them, he summon'd them together, and in

a Speech, Know, says he, the King will be here in a few Days with Ten Legions, Thirty thousand Horse, and a Hundred thousand light-arm'd Foot, and Three hundred Elephants. And now let no Man seek out for farther Advice, or frame Schemes of his own, but rest satisfy'd in the Information I have given, who certainly know the Thing. If he does not, I am resolv'd to put him into some old batter'd Vessel, and deliver him up to the Mercy of the Winds.

67. He did not take Notice of all sorts of Crimes, nor punish them according to the usual Methods: He always kept a strict Eye upon Deserters and Mutineers, and treated them with the just Severity, and wink'd at other Offences. Sometimes after a hot Engagement, or a considerable Victory, he excus'd them from Duty, and permitted all manner of Licentiousness and Luxury, boasting that his Men cou'd fight well in the midst of their Pleasures. He never call'd them barely Soldiers, but styl'd them by the more endearing Compellation of *Fellow Soldiers* in his Orations. He equipp'd them so handsomely that their Arms were adorn'd with Silver and Gold, at once to make a beautiful Appearance, and to provoke them by the Fear of losing them, to retain them more firmly in Battle. His Affection for his Soldiers was so great, that hearing of *Titurinus's* Defeat, he let his Beard and his Hair grow wild, and wou'd not shave himself till he had reveng'd it. By these Means he render'd them absolutely devoted to his Service, and wonderfully heighten'd their Courage.

68. When he began the Civil War, the Centurions of every Legion presented him with a Horseman out of their Pay, and the whole Army agreed to serve him voluntarily without Hire, the Rich among them undertaking to subsist the Poor. Nor in so long a Space of Time was a single Man ever known to desert; and several, who were made Prisoners, refus'd to accept their Lives when offer'd them on Condition of bearing Arms against him. They endur'd Hunger and other Necessities, both when they were besieg'd and in besieging the Enemy, with such Resolution,

solution, that some of the Bread made of Herbs
 which they fed upon at the Blockade of *Dyrachium*,
 being shewn to *Pompey*, he cry'd out, he had to do with
Wild Beasts, and commanded it to be immediately
 taken away and conceal'd, lest his own Men shou'd
 be dispirited, if they saw the wonderful Obstinacy
 of the Enemy. It is an evident Proof with what
 Bravery they fought, that when they happen'd once
 to be worsted in an Engagement at *Dyrachium*, they
 made it their Request to be punish'd; so that their
 General found it more necessary to console and com-
 fort them than to use Severities for that Miscarriage.
 In their other Battles they routed vast Forces of the
 Enemy with Ease, and frequently when themselves
 were inferior in Numbers. One Cohort of the
 sixth Legion being appointed to keep a Fort, stood
 the Fury of four of *Pompey's* Legions for several
 Hours, till they were almost every one overwhelm'd
 with Arrows, of which a Hundred and thirty thou-
 sand were afterwards taken up in the Trenches.
 Nor is this surprising if we reflect on the Actions of
 some particular Men among them, as of *Cassius Scæva*,
 a Centurion, or of *G. Asilius*, a Common Soldier, to
 mention no more. *Scæva*, with an Eye dash'd out,
 and Wounds in his Thigh and Shoulder, and his
 Shield bor'd thro' with a Hundred and twenty Blows,
 maintain'd the Pass of the Works where he was
 posted; and *Asilius*, in a Sea-Fight at *Marseilles*, fas-
 ten'd on an Enemy's Ship with his Right Hand;
 which being cut off, in Imitation of the memorable
 Example of *Cynegirus* among the Greeks, he lesp'd
 on board, and beat down all before him with the Boss
 of his Buckler.

69. In

* An Athenian Soldier, who in a Sea Fight between the
 Persians and Greeks, caught hold on a Persian Vessel
 with his Right Hand, and when that was cut off, seiz'd it
 with his Left, and losing this also, he in a Rage fasten'd on
 the Ship with his Teeth.

69. In the ten Years War in Gaul they made no Insurrections; yet in the Civil Wars they sometimes mutiny'd, but were presently recover'd to their Duty, not so much by the Compliance as by the Authority and Awe of their General; for he never gave way to them in a Rising, but always fac'd them resolutely. He cashier'd the whole Ninth Legion with Disgrace, upon such an Occasion, at *Placentia*, tho' *Pompey* was then in Arms, and was not prevail'd with to restore them till after many Applications and Prayers, and not then neither till he had done Justice on their Leaders.

70. The Tenth Legion clamouring at *Rome* to have their Discharge and their Premium, and threatening highly to the apparent Danger of the City, while the War was on Foot in *Africk*, he immediately went up to them, tho' his Friends dissuaded him, and disbanded them, and made such an Impression on them by a single Word, styling them * *Quirites*, instead of *Soldiers*, that they presently call'd out to him, They were *Soldiers*; and tho' he refus'd to accept them, follow'd him voluntarily into *Africk*. Yet after all this he fin'd the principal Mutineers of a third Part of their Share of the Booty and Lands.

71. Even in his Youth he express'd the utmost Fidelity and Zeal in the Service of his Clients. He defended *Masius*, a young Man of a Noble Family, so impetuously against King *Nicomachus*, that in the Heat of Pleading he took *Juba*, the King's Son, by the Beard; and when the Cause was lost, and he was declar'd Tributary to *Nicomachus*, *Cæsar* rush'd in and rescu'd him from those who were leading him away, and conceal'd him a long time in his own House; and when, at the end of his Pretorship, he was setting

* Soldiers were of a noble Profession, and were employ'd in the Publick Service, and had several Marks of Honour appointed them according to their Merits, but *Quirites* imply'd no more than private Citizens of the most ordinary Character.

after Night, when he was sick and forc'd to abscond, that it was as much as he cou'd do to prevail on him by Bribes not to deliver him up to *Sylla*; and *Philomen*, his Amanuensis, who had promis'd his Master's Enemies to poyson him, he executed by a simple Death without Torture. Being summon'd for a Witness against *P. Clodius*, who had debauch'd his Wife *Pompeia*, and was thereby guilty also of *Pol-luting the Sacred Ceremonies*; he deny'd his knowing any thing of it, tho' his Mother *Aurelia*, and his Sister *Julia*, had depos'd the whole Affair upon Oath, before the same Judges. And when he was ask'd why he had then divorc'd *Pompeia*, *Because*, he answer'd, *I think all who are related to me, ought as well to be free from Suspicion as actual Guilt.*

75. He shew'd also a wonderful Moderation and Clemency, both in the Civil War, and in his Conduct after the Victory. *Pompey* declar'd he wou'd regard them as Enemies who did not put themselves in Arms for the * Republick; but *Cæsar* said, he wou'd esteem all who observ'd a Neutrality as his Friends, and freely allow'd those whom he had promoted at *Pompey's* Recommendation, to go over to his side. Proposals of a Surrender being made at † *Herda*, upon which a free Intercourse was begun between both Parties, *Afranius* and *Petreius* suddenly breaking off the Truce, slew all the Soldiers of *Cæsar* who were found in their Camp, but he disdain'd to retaliate an Action of such perfidious Barbarity upon them. At the Battle of *Pharsalia* he proclaim'd that all the Citizens shou'd have Quarter, and hinder'd none of his Men from saving any one Enemy they thought fit; nor were any known to be kill'd but in Battle, except only *Afranius*, *Fauslus*, and

* i. e. on his side; for the State took Part with *Pompey* in the Quarrel between him and *Cæsar*, and appointed him General of all their Forces.

† A City in Spain.

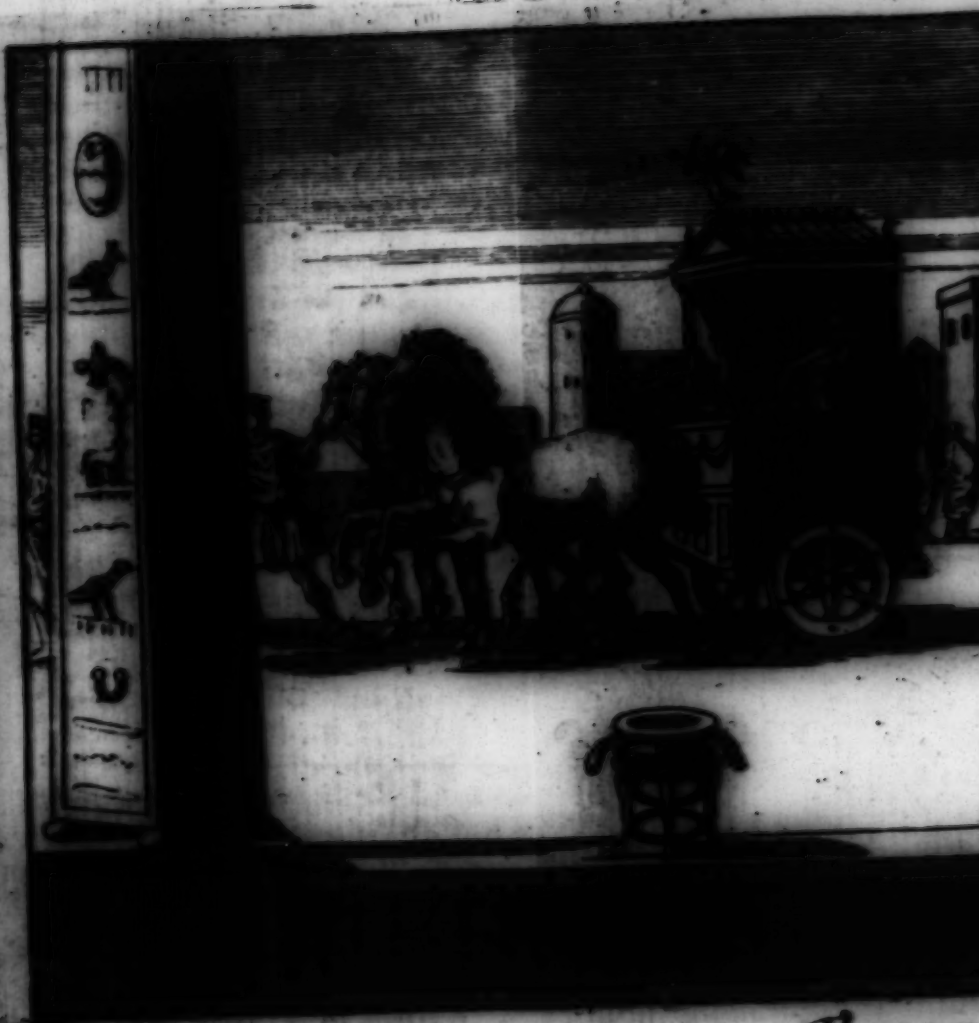
and *L. Caesar* the younger : And || these, 'tis thought, were not put to Death by his Order, tho' *Festus* and *Afranius* had borne Arms against him after they were pardon'd, and *L. Caesar* had in a cruel Manner butcher'd his Freed-Men and Slaves with Fire and Sword, and even knock'd the Beasts on the Head which were prepar'd for his Publick Shews. In a Word, he at last permitted all, whom as yet he had not formally pardon'd, to return into *Italy*, and made them capable of bearing Offices Military and Civil : He also restor'd the Statues of *Sylla* and *Pompey*, which the People had thrown down. And if any thing was afterwards concerted or spoken in his Prejudice, he chose rather to prohibit than to revenge it ; and therefore he took no farther Notice of Conspiracies, which were discover'd to him, and of Nightly Cabals, than to signify by an Edict, that he knew of them ; and contented himself with giving a publick Caution to those who had declaim'd against him, not to proceed ; and calmly suffer'd *Aulus Cassius* to vilifie him in a Libel, and *Picholus* to stab his Reputation in a malignant Copy of Verses.

76 But his other Actions and Expressions so far outweigh all these, that he seems to have justly perish'd for abusing his Power. For he not only accepted extravagant Honours, such as a Continual Consulate, a Perpetual Dictatorship, and all the Powers of a Censor, under a qualified Name, assuming also the Title of *EMPEROR*, and *FATHER* of his Country, and placing his Statue among those of the Kings, and having a particular Seat erected for him in the Theatre ; but he also suffer'd things to be decreed him, which were above a mortal Man ; as a Golden Chair in the Senate House and in the Forum, the Carrying
of.

|| *Florus* says that *Festus* and *Afranius* were executed by his Command ; *Caesar* thinking he had shown them Favour enough in once giving them a Pardon.

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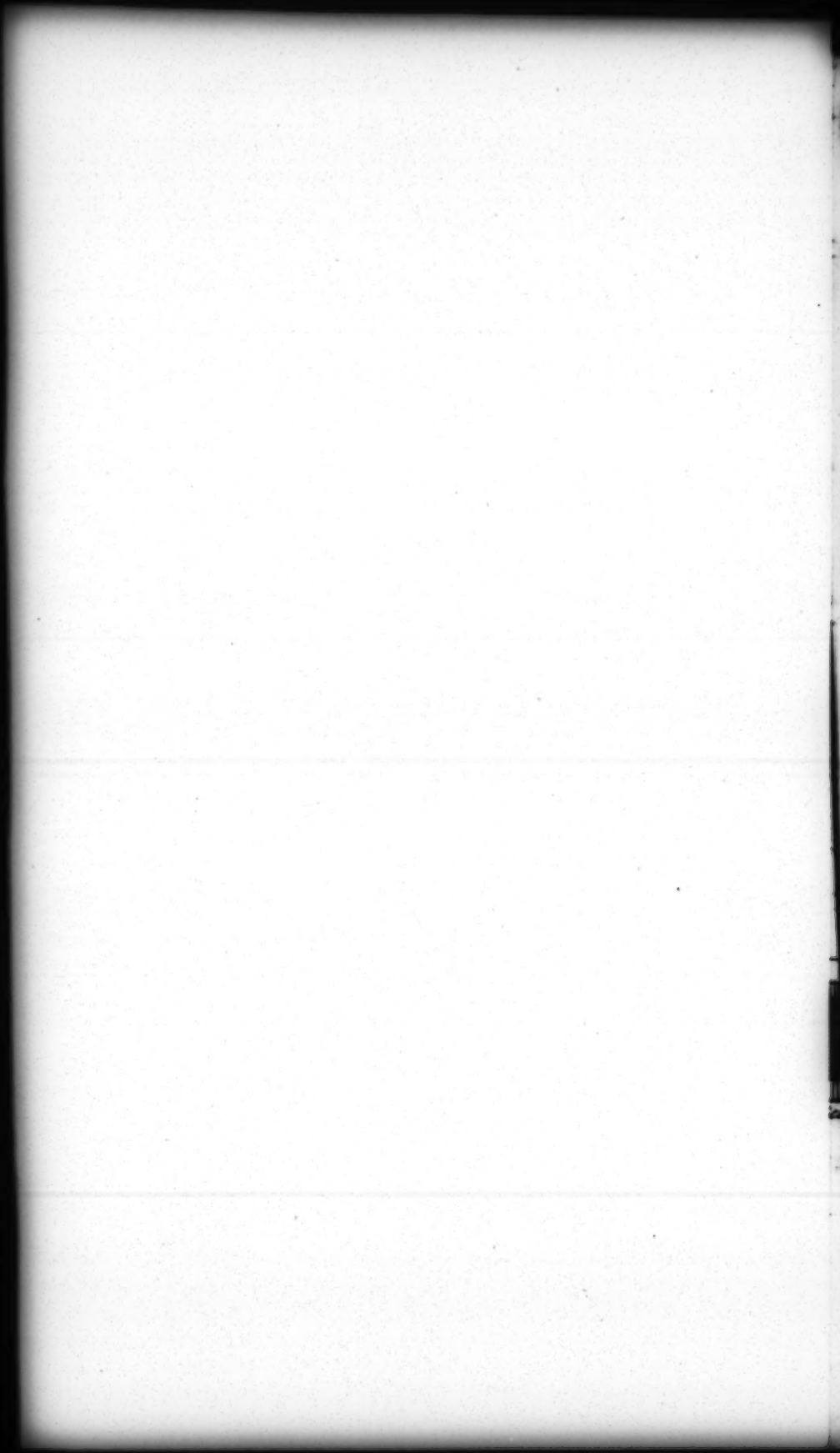
Thensa



Thensa.

No. 17. Quatre Saisons

P. 45.



of his Effigies in Procession in a Consecrated * Chariot at the *Circensian Games*; also Temples, Altars, Images set up beside those of the Gods; a sacred Couch for his Shrine, a † *Flamen*, and a Division of the || *Luperci*, and lastly, the Glory of having one of the Months call'd by his Name. In a Word, He receiv'd and gave all manner of Honours at his Pleasure. The Third and Fourth Year he only bore the Title of Consul, but did not act, contenting himself with the Power of Dictator, which was decreed him at the same Time; and deputing each Year Two Consuls for the Three last Months; so that in the mean while he held no ‡ Elections of any Officers besides the Tribunes and *Aediles* of the People; and instead of Pretors he constituted Prefects to govern the City while he was present. The Consulate becoming vacant by the sudden Death of one of the Consuls, on the last Day of *December*, he bestow'd it on one who begg'd it of him for the short Remainder of a few Hours. With the same * Presumption also he enlarg'd the Term of the Magistrates Offices to several Years, in Contempt of the ancient Custom of making them Annual. He allow'd Ten Men, who had been Pretors, the Honour of wearing the Consular Robes, and receiv'd into the Senate some who had barely the Privilege of

* These Sacred Chariots the Romans call'd by an appropriated Name *Thensa*. For the Form of them see the Plate.

† A *Flamen* was an ordinary Priest.

|| The *Luperci* were Priests of a Superiour and more Solemn Order, and belong'd to *Pan*.

‡ The Pretors and Quæstors, and other Principal Magistrates, ought to have been chosen at stated Times, but Cæsar by thus preventing their Election, kept their several Powers in his own Hands.

* The Consuls were chosen by the whole Body of the People, and no one single Person had a Right to appoint them. But Cæsar was now breaking in upon all Parts of the Constitution.

of Citizens, and several Gauls who were but half civiliz'd. The Management of the Coin and the Publick Revenues, he put into the Hands of his own Creatures; and gave the Command of the Three Legions he left at *Alexandria*, to one of his *Patricks*, the Son of his Freed-Man *Rufus*.

77. No less arbitrary and insulting, according to *T. Annius*, were several Expressions which fell from him in Publick; as *That the Republick was become an empty Name, a Shadow without a Substance. That Sylla was a very Fool to lay down the Dictatorship: and That they ought to consider how they address'd themselves to him now, and to regard his Word as a Law.* And he proceeded to such a Degree of Arrogance, that the *Aruspex* telling him once at a Sacrifice, the Entrails were ominous, and wanted a Heart; But, says he, *they shall prophecy good Fortune whenever I please to have them: For a Beast to be without a Heart, is a trifling Circumstance, there is nothing Potentior in it.*

78. But that which drew upon him the greatest and the most insuperable Odium, was this. The Senators coming to him in a full Body with several very honourable Decrees, which they had pass'd in his Favour, he receiv'd them before the Temple of *Venus*, sitting. Some are of Opinion that he was restrain'd by ** Cornelius Balbus*, as he was going to rise; and others, that he did not so much as offer to stand up, but, on the contrary, that *C. Trebatius* prompting him to it, he gave him a very angry Look. This was the more unpardonable in him, because that when *Pontius Aquila*, one of the Tribunes, neglected to rise to him, as he pass'd by their Seats in his Triumph, he was all inflam'd, and in a Passion, Tribunes, said he, *I would have you by all means demand the Commonwealth out of my Hands.* And for several Days after

* Don't you remember, says *Balbus*, that you are *Cæsar*? and wou'd you not have the Honour paid you which becomes your Quality?

|| He was afterwards one of *Cæsar's* Murderers.

after, he never made a Promise, but with this Exception, *If Pontius Aquila will please to give me leave.*

79. To this Indignity offer'd the Senate, he added an Action yet much more flagrant. For as he was returning from Sacrificing at the *Latin* Festivals, amidst the extravagant and unusual Acclamations of the People, some one of the Croud had put a Crown of Laurel with a Diadem upon his Statue, and *Epicius Marcellus* and *Caspius Flavius* the Tribunes, commanding the Diadem to be taken down, and the Fellow to be laid in Irons, *Cæsar* provok'd, either that this Insinuation of a Royal Dignity did not succeed, or, as he gave out himself, that he had lost the Glory of refusing it, severely reprimanded the Tribunes, and disphed them. From this Time he was never able to clear himself from the Imputation of affecting the Title of King; tho' when the Rabble saluted him by that Style, he reply'd, *He was Cæsar, not a King.* And at the *Lupercal Games*, *Anthony* the Consul reaching out a Crown to him several times in a numerous Assembly, he still put it back, and at last sent it to be solemnly offer'd to *Jupiter* in the Capitol. A Rumour was also blaz'd abroad, that he design'd to settle at *Alexandria* or *Ilium*, having first transfer'd thither the Riches of the Empire, and drawn off the best Troops from *Italy*, and put the Government of *Rome* into the Hands of some of his Friends: And that at the next Assembly of the Senate, *L. Cotta*, one of the Fifteen who kept the *Sibylline* Prophecies, was to move, since those Oracles pronounc'd the *Parthians* cou'd not be conquer'd but by a King, that *Cæsar* might have the Title confer'd upon him.

80. This oblig'd the Conspirators to hasten the Execution of their Design, lest they shou'd be constrain'd to come into that Proposal. Therefore, whereas they had before consulted separately, Two
or

* Observ'd in Honour of *Pan*, the God of Shepherds:

or Three of them only being in Company together, they now held a general Meeting of their whole Number. Nor were the People satisfy'd with the present Posture of Things, but in Publick and in Private express'd their Resentments, and wish'd for some to assert their Liberties. Thus upon the Admission of Foreigners into the Senate, there came out the following Lampoon: ORDER'D, *That no Man show the new Senators the Way to the House.* And these Verses were commonly sung.

*Gallus Caesar in triumphans ducit; ludum in curia
Galli bracas deposuerunt, latum clavum sumserunt.*

The Gauls, who late did Caesar's Triumph crown,
Have in the Senate laid their Trowsers down,
And gravely put the Father's Habit on.

Q. Munius, whom he had deputed to be one of the Consuls † for Three Months, coming into the Theatre, and the Lictor making the usual Proclamation before him, for the People to do him Honour, they unanimously cry'd out, *He is no Consul.* And *Cæsius* and *Marcellus* had a great many Votes for the Consulate at the next Election after he had turn'd them out of the Tribuneship. And some body wrote under *Brutus's* Statue, *That thou wert alive!* and under that of *Cæsar*, *Brutus was chosen the first Consul, for expelling the Kings: This Man is at last made King, for expelling the Consuls.* In the Conspiracy against him above Sixty Persons were engag'd; the Principal of whom were *C. Cæsius*, and *Marcus* and *Decimus Brutus*. At first they debated whether they shou'd not form Two separate Bodies, of which one shou'd seize him in the *Campus Martius*, as he was polling the Tribes at an Election, and precipitate him over the Bridge into the *Tiber*, while the other was ready to receive him

† According to what is mention'd above, § 76.

him below, and dispatch him after his Fall: But the Senate being summon'd to meet in Pompey's Court upon the Ides of March, they immediately fix'd upon this, as most convenient both for Time and Place.

87. His Murder was presignify'd to him by many apparent Omens. A few Months before it, as a Company of the new Colony he had sent to Capua, were demolishing old Sepulchres, and removing Ruins in order to build, and were very intent on their Work, their Curiosity was awaken'd by turning up some Vessels and Relicks of Antiquity; and in their Progress they found, in a Monument where Cæsar, the Founder of Capua, was said to be buried, a Brazen Tablet, on which this Sentence was inscrib'd in Greek: *Whenever the Bones of Cæsar are discover'd, one of the Offspring of Julius shall be slain by the Hand of his own Kindred, and shall be reveng'd on Italy with prodigious Slaughters.* The Author of this Relation, lest any shou'd think it an idle Fiction, was Cornelius Balbus, an intimate Friend of Cæsar. Not many Days also before it happen'd, he understood that the Horses which he had consecrated to the Gods at his passing the Rubicon, and had turn'd at large into the Field, abstain'd from their Food and wept plentifully. And Spurinus, the Augur, warn'd him, as he was sacrificing, to beware of a Danger which threaten'd him before the Ides of March expir'd. The Day before which Ides, a huge Flock of Birds of several Kinds issuing from a neighbouring Grove, pursu'd a † *Regulus* which fled into Pompey's Court with a Laurel Branch in her Mouth, and tore her in pieces there. And the Night before the Day of the Action, he seem'd several times in his Sleep to

D

soar

|| Ascanius, the Son of Æneas, from whom Julius Cæsar claim'd his Descent.

* March 15th.

† A very small Bird, perhaps a Wren.

soar above the Clouds, and to || Shake Hands with Jupiter: And his Wife Calpurnia thought the Pinnacle of their House broke down, and that her Husband was stabb'd in her Arms; and the Door of the Bed-Chamber flew open suddenly of its own Accord. In Regard to these Circumstances, and to some Indisposition which hung about him, he consider'd with himself whether he shou'd not keep at home, and put off the Affairs upon which the Senate was assembling to another Time. At last, D. Brutus coming in, and pressing him not to disappoint them since there was a full House, and all waited for him, he went forth about the † Fifth Hour; and some body delivering him a Writing by the Way, which laid open the whole Conspiracy, he mingled it among other Papers in his Left Hand, as if intending to read it at Leisure. And not being able to propitiate the Gods, tho' he slew a Multitude of Victims, he enter'd the Senate in despite of all the Ceremonies; and laughing at *Spurina*, accus'd him for a False Prophet, since the Ides of March were come and he had receiv'd no Mischief; but the Augur reply'd, *The' they were come, they were not pass'd.*

81. When he was seated, the Conspirators gather'd round him under Colour of Respect, and *Cimber Tullius*, who undertook to make the first Pass, mov'd up closer to him, as if he were going to present a Petition. *Caesar* put him by; and signing to him to defer it, he immediately seiz'd him by the Gown upon both Shoulders, and *Caesar* crying out, *This is open Violence*, one of the *Cassii* wounded him a little below the Throat. He caught hold on *Cassius's*

|| To dream of being taken up among the Gods, or to shake Hands with them, always with the Ancients portend-
ed Death.

† *Klaven a Clock.*

* Either the *Beasts* he cut up were deficient in some necessary Part, or he cou'd obtain no propitious Tokens from the Gods by his Sacrifices.

his Arm, and pierc'd it thro' with his † Style, and going to rush out, was stopp'd by a second Wound. As soon as he perceiv'd himself invaded on every side with naked Daggers, he wrapp'd up his Head in his Gown, and with his Left Hand brought his Garments over his Legs, that the lower Part of his Body being cover'd he might fall with the greater Decency. And thus he expir'd beneath Three and Twenty Wounds, giving only a single Groan at the first Stab, without speaking a Word; tho' some have reported, that when M. Brutus made up to him, he said, *Kal eo d' capio, q' eu' teneo, And art thou, then, one of them? What thou my Son!* Every one flying out of the House, he lay breathless on the Ground for some time, till at last three of his Servants put him into a Litter and carry'd him home, one of his Arms hanging out all the Way. Among so many Wounds, not one, in the Opinion of *Antistius* the Surgeon, was Mortal, except the second, which he receiv'd in his Breast. The Conspirators had design'd to throw his Carcass into the Tiber, to confiscate his Goods, and repeal his Acts; but they were restrain'd by the Fear of M. *Anthony* the Consul, and of *Lepidus* the Master of the Horse.

83. His Will was open'd, at the Instance of his Father-in-Law L. *Piso*, and read in *Anthony's* House. He had made it in the * Ides of September last at his *Villa* near *Lavinium*, and †† deposited it with the Head of the

D 2

Vestal

† An Iron Pen with which the Antients wrote. It was sharp at one End to cut the Letters, and blunted at the other to raise them, if there happen'd to be any Error.

* September 13.

‖ A Town in that Part of Italy which was call'd Latium.

†† The Eldest Vestal was the chief. This Order was esteem'd so sacred and venerable, that it was a Custom with the Romans to lodge Wills in their Hands, believing they cou'd no where be better secur'd from Violence, or more carefully preserv'd: For these Virgins were oblig'd to a perpetual Vigilance in order to keep their Holy Fire always burning, since if they let it go out, they forfeited their Lives.

Vestal Virgins. *Q. Tullius* says, that from his first Consulship to the Beginning of the Civil War, he had appointed *Pompey* for his Heir, and publish'd it at the Head of his Army. But in this last Will he constituted the three Grandsons of his Sisters to be his Heirs; namely, *C. Officius*, of nine Parts of his Possessions, and *L. Pinarius*, and *Q. Pedius* of the remaining three; and at the bottom of the Will he set down the † secondary Heirs. He adopted *Officius* both into his Family and Name, and had also chosen several of his Murderers for Guardians to his Son, in Case he shou'd leave one, and nominated *D. Brutus* among the secondary Heirs. And to the Body of the People he gave his Gardens beside the *Tiber*, and Three hundred Sesterces a Man.

84. The Time of his Funeral's being proclaim'd, a Pile was form'd in the *Campus Martius*, near his Daughter *Julia's* Tomb. And before the *Atrium*, at the Temple of || *Venus Genetrix*, was erected a Golden Stand, on which was set a Bed of Ivory, cover'd with Purple and Cloth of Gold, and at the Head was plac'd a Trophy with the Robe in which he was slain. And because one Day wou'd not be sufficient, if they observ'd the usual Forms, it was directed that those who made Oblations to the Dead shou'd not be oblig'd to march in a regular Procession, but might take their Way thro' what Streets of the City they wou'd, and carry their Gifts promiscuously into the Field. While the Games continu'd, several Parts of *Pacuvius's* Tragedy, * *Of the Judgment of the Arms*, were accommodated to the Occasion, and sung, in order to provoke Commiseration and a Resentment of the Murder: This was one of the Verses,

Men me

† These were to inherit upon the Failure of the first.
|| The Family of the *Julii* was descended from *Venus*.
See §. 6.

* The Subject of this Tragedy was the Strife between *Ajax* and *Ulysses* for the Arms of *Achilles*.

Mex me servasse, ut essent qui me perderent ?

Ah! did I then preserve their Lives, that I
Shou'd by their Malice thus unpity'd die!

And other Passages to the same Sense were taken from the † *Electra* of *Attilius*. Instead of a Funeral Panegyrick, *Anthony*, the Consul, caus'd to be publish'd by the Crier the Act of the Senate, by which they had decreed him all manner of Honours both Divine as well as Human; and the Oath, by which they had all bound themselves to his Defence; and after this he added a short Speech of his own. The Bier was taken up from before the *Rostre* and borne into the *Forum* by the Magistrates, and by others who had been formerly in Office. As some were for burning it in *Jupiter's* Temple in the Capitol, and others in the Court of *Pompey*, two Persons with Swords, and carrying a couple of Javelins in their Hands, went up suddenly and kindled it with flaming Torches, and in a trice all who stood by threw on *Scer-Wood*, the Tribunes Benches, and all the Offerings which lay near them. The Musicians, then, and the Players, || stripping themselves of the Habits which they had receiv'd at his Triumph, and had now put on for this Solemnity, rent them and threw them into the Fire; and his Veteran Legions cast their rich Arms, in which they had clad themselves to celebrate the Funerals, into the Flames; to which a great many Matrons added their Ornaments, and the * *Bulle* and Vests of their Children. And in the

D 3

Wild-

† The *Electra* was originally written by *Sophocles* in Greek, and was translated by *Attilius*.

|| To throw Garments, Jewels and Arms into the Funeral Flames was doing Honour, and express'd an Affection to the Dead.

* *Studs*, which the Sons of Noble Romans wore upon their Garments in their younger Years.

Wildness of the Common Grief, a multitude of Strangers lamented round the Pyre, according to the Customs of their various Nations; particularly the Jews, who frequented it for several Nights together.

85. From the Burning the Commons ran directly with Fire-brands to the Houses of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and being beat off with Difficulty, they fell in with *Helvius Cinna*, and mistaking him by his Name for *Cornelius*, whom they were searching after, because he had exclaim'd furiously against *Cæsar* the Day before in an Oration, they dispatch'd him, and carry'd his Head before them upon a Spear. They afterwards erected a solid Pillar of *Naxosian* Marble in the *Forum*, with an Inscription, *TO THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY*. At this they continu'd for a long time to sacrifice, to make Vows, and determine Controversies by swearing by *Cæsar's* Name.

86. His Behaviour made some of his Friends ready to imagine that he had no Desire to protract his Life; and was under no Concern to preserve it, because of the ill State of his Health; and that therefore he disregarded all Religious Omens, and the importunate Warnings and Advice which were given him. Others fancy he had such a Confidence in the last Decree of the Senate and the † Oath, which was taken in his Favour, that he dismiss'd his Guard of *Spaniards* who us'd to attend him arm'd. Others, on the contrary, make him to have own'd he had rather fall once into the Snares which he saw were laid for him on every side, than be always taking care to avoid them. 'Tis also reported, that he was wont to say, his Safety was not so much his Interest as the Interest of the Republick; that he had long since purchas'd Glory and Power enough; and if any Mischief beset him, the Common-Wealth won'd enjoy no Repose, but be more perplex'd and plung'd into the Miseries of a new Civil War.

87. How.

† See §. 85.

JULIUS CÆSAR. 55

87. However, it is allow'd on all Hands, that his Death was almost such as he desir'd. For reading once in *Xenophon*, that *Cyrus* in his last Sickness gave Directions concerning his Funerals, he express'd an Abhorrence of so * lingring a Death, and wish'd his own might be speedy and sudden. And the Day before he was kill'd, in a Conversation which arose at *Lepidus's* Table concerning what kind of End was most desirable, he preferr'd that which was unexpected and immediate.

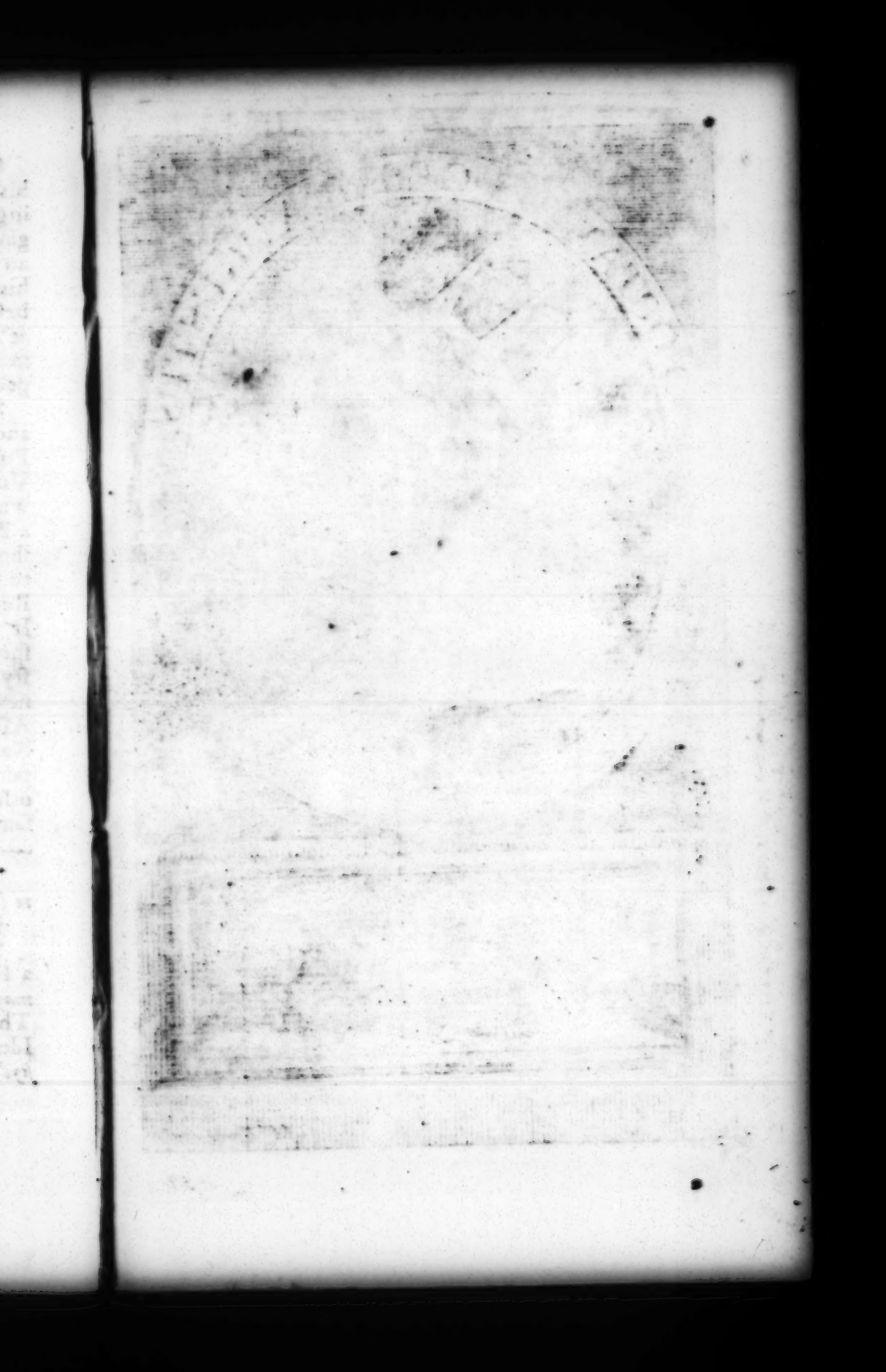
88. He expir'd in the Fifty sixth Year of his Age, and was both consecrated among the Gods by a Publick Decree, and really esteem'd such by the Vulgar. For at the first Celebration of the Games, which *Augustus*, his Heir, dedicated to his Memory, a Blazing Star appear'd at the † Eleventh Hour, and shone for seven Days together; and this was believ'd to be *Cæsar's* Soul receiv'd up into Heaven, and for this Reason a Star is plac'd on the Crown of his Statues. It was ordain'd, that the Court where he was kill'd shou'd be shut up; that the Ides of *March* shou'd be styl'd the Ides of * PARRICIDE, and the Senate shou'd never assemble upon that Day. Scarcely any of the Assassines surviv'd him above three Years, or dy'd a Natural Death. They were all attainted by Law, and perish'd by several Accidents: Some by Shipwreck, others in Battel, and some slew themselves with the same Weapons with which they had stabb'd *Cæsar*.

* i. e. *Cyrus* did not die at once, but lay ill long enough to settle the Solemnities of his Funerals.

† Five of the Clock in the Afternoon.

* *Parricide* with the Romans was either murdering a Father, or simply what our Law calls Murder. This may be translated therefore, The Murtherous Ides, or, The Ides of Murder. But I chuse to render it, The Ides of PARRICIDE, because *Cæsar* was formally styl'd PATER Patriæ, FATHER of his Country.

1. The first of the two is a list of the names of the persons who have been identified as having been in contact with the subject of the investigation. The second is a list of the names of the persons who have been identified as having been in contact with the subject of the investigation.





THE
LIFE
OF
Octavius Caesar Augustus.

It appears by many things, that the *Octavii* were formerly a principal Family at *Velitra*. For a Street in the chief Part of the Town was call'd by that Name; and there stood an Altar consecrated to *Octavius*, who was General in a War with some Neighbours; and receiving Advice as he was Sacrificing to *Mars*, that the Enemy had made a sudden Incursion, he hastily snatch'd out the Entrails of the Victim, and threw them half raw on the Altar, and advancing into the Battle, return'd with Victory. There was also a Decree which ordain'd, that the Entrails shou'd for the future be offer'd to *Mars* in the like Manner, and the Remainder of the Sacrifice be sent home to such of the *Octavii*, who happen'd not to be present at the Offering.

This Family was naturaliz'd at Rome, and brought into the Senate by *Tarquinius Priscus*, and was afterwards translated by *Servius Tullus* to the

D 5

Patri-

* A Town in Italy, which belong'd to the *Volsci*.

Patricians, from whence in Length of Time it pass'd it self again to the Plebeians, and after a Space of Years Julius Cæsar reduc'd it to the Patrician Dignity. C. Rufus was the first of the Line who was chosen by the People into the Magistracy. He had been Quæstor, and from his two Sons, Cninus and Cains came Two Branches of the *Ostian* House, very different in their Fortune. For Cninus and all his Descendants enjoy'd the highest Honours in the Republick; but Cains and his Posterity, whether by accident or of choice, continu'd in the Equestrian Order without rising, even to Augustus's Father. The Great Grand-Father of Augustus serv'd a Military Tribune in the second Punic War in Italy, of which *Scipio Pæpius* was General. And his Grand-Father, who had a noble Patrimony, affected no Offices above those of a private Citizen, and grew old in a desirable Tranquility. But these Things are mention'd by other Authors. Augustus himself writes, that his Family was of a Rank no higher than the Equestrian, and of which his Father was the first Senator. M. Anthony upbraids him that his Great Grand-Father was a Freed-man of the *Thurine* Canton, and sold Ropes, and that his Father was an Exchanger of Money. And these are all the Particulars which have come to my Knowledge concerning the Paternal Ancestors of Augustus.

3. His Father C. *Ostius* was from the first very Rich, and of great Reputation; wherefore I am surpris'd some shou'd represent him also as a Money-Changer, and even one of the Creatures who are employ'd in the *Comptus Martius* to distribute Money among the People, and to wait upon the Candidates at an Election, since the flourishing Estate to which he was born easily advanc'd him to the most honourable Stations, and he acquitted himself in them with Applause.

* *Thuriz* was a Town in Italy, lying between the Rivers *Crathis* and *Sybaris*, and gave Name to a certain Division of the circumjacent Country.

Applause. *Macedonia* being allotted him for his Province at the End of his Pretorship, in his Passage thither, having receiv'd an extraordinary Commission to this Purpose from the Senate, he engag'd and defeated the Fugitives, who were some remaining Forces of *Spartacus* and *Catiline*, and had now possess'd themselves of the Country round the City *Thivia*. In his Government he shew'd no less Justice than Fortitude: For having vanquish'd the *Agri* and the *Thracians* in a considerable Battle, he treated the Allies in so generous and engaging a manner, that *Cicero*, in some Epistles of his which are extant, advises his Brother *Quintus*, and presses him, who was then Proconsul of *Asia*, and behav'd himself very dishonourably, to imitate the worthy Example of his † neighbouring Fellow-Ruler *Octavius*, in obliging his Allies.

4. He departed from *Macedonia* * before he cou'd declare his Intention to stand for the Consulate, and was taken off by a sudden Death, leaving behind him several Children; *Octavia* the Elder, whom he had by *Antonia*, and *Octavia* the younger, and *Augustus*, who were by *Atia*, the Daughter of *M. Atius Balbus* and *Julia*, the Sister of *Julius Cæsar*. *Balbus* was by his Father's Side an * *Aricinian*, and had in his Family the † Images of several of his Ancestors, with

* A Company of Gladiators call'd so, because at the Disfiguration of *Spartacus*, one of their Number, they broke loose, and running away from their Masters, took Arms for *Catiline*.

† *Macedonia*, which was *Octavius's* Province, was not far from *Asia*, of which *Quintus* was Proconsul.

** They were oblig'd to publish this some Days before the Time of the Election, or else they cou'd not be admitted to stand.

* Of *Aricia*, a City near *Alba*,

† The Romans extremely affected to keep the Images of their Ancestors in their Houses, both in Respect to their Memory, and as Marks of Family-Honour. See *Juvenal*, Sat. 8.

who had been Senators; and by his Mother he was very nearly related to *Pompey*. After having pass'd thro' the Honour of the Pretorship, he was appointed One of the Twenty who executed the *Julian Law*, for dividing the *Companion Lands* among the common People. But *M. Anthony* vilifying his Descent by his Mother's Line, reproaches him that his Great Grand-Father was an *African*, and sometimes kept a *Perfumer's* and sometimes a *Baker's Shop* in *Aricia*. And *Cassius Parmensis* exposes *Augustus* in one of his Epistles, not only as the Grandson of a Baker, but of a common Money-Teller also. *Thou art sprung, says he, from thy Mother's Meal-Tub, and a Baker of Nerulum taking the Flour out of a Bake-house at Aricia, with his Hands all full'd with telling Money, work'd up and fashion'd the Poet.*

5. *Augustus* was born in the Consulship of *M. Tullius Cicero* and *Anthony*, upon the 44 Ninth of the Kalends of October, a little before Sun-Rising, in the Quarter of the City call'd *Palatium*, and at a Place nam'd *Ox's Head*, where there is now a small Temple, which was erected shortly after his Death. For, as it is recorded in the Acts of the Senate, *C. Lellinius*, a young Man of a Patrician Family, importunately entreating he might not suffer the severest Punishment of Adultery, and pleading to the Senators, beside his Age and his honourable Descent, that he was the Possessor, and in a manner Keeper of that Spot of Ground, which *Augustus* first touch'd at his Birth, and therefore he pray'd they wou'd grant his

* The *Africans* were a wild and barbarian People, and the Meaning of this Reflection is, that *Augustus* was meanly descended from a Foreign Family, and not from a Roman.

44 September 23:

** Transportation.

* It was a Superstitious Ceremony with the Ancients to set the Child down naked upon the Ground, as soon as it was born, and make it touch the Earth.

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his Petition, as it were to him who was his † peculiar and Patron God; it was decreed, That that Part of the House shou'd be consecrated.

6. In the old Suburbs next *Palatium* is shewn the Apartment which was his Nursery. It is a little Room, and just like a Pantry; and there is a Notion among the Neighbourhood that he was also born there. To enter it, unless upon a necessary Occasion, and with Reverence, is unlawful; And an ancient Opinion has obtain'd, that a certain Consternation and Horror invades all who venture into it rashly: Which Tradition was afterwards thus confirm'd. A new Owner of the Place, either by Chance or to make the Experiment, taking up his Lodging there one Night, it happen'd that in a few Hours, he was thrown out by a sudden and invisible Force, and was found almost half dead before the Door, with his Bed lying by him.

7. The Surname of *Thurinus* was given him in his Infancy, either in Commemoration of his Ancestors Original, or because, shortly after he was born, his Father, *Octavius*, put the Fugitives to flight in the Canton of *Thura*. I am able to report this to have been his Appellation with Certainty, having had in my Possession a small Image of him in Brass, taken when he was a Boy, on which this Name was engraven, tho' the Letters are now canker'd and almost worn out. I presented this to the * Emperor, who preserves it among the Statues in his Bed-Chamber. *Mark Anthony* indeed calls him *Thurinus* in his Letters, by way of Infamy, to which *Augustus* makes no other Reply, than that he wonder'd his primitive Name shou'd be objected to him as a Reproach. He afterwards assum'd the Style of *CÆSAR*, and

† i. e. to *Augustus*, to whom *Lectorius* reckon'd himself a sort of Priest, by having that remarkable Spot of Ground in his Possession: Accordingly he styles himself *Æditum Soli*, which properly signifies a Keeper of Temples and consecrated Places.

* *Adrian*.

and then of AUGUSTUS, receiving the first by the Testament of his † Great Uncle, and taking the other at the Instance of *Marcus Plautius*. For several being of Opinion that he ought to be nam'd *Romulus*, as if he were also the & Founder of the City, *Marcus* obtain'd that he shou'd rather be term'd *Augustus*, as being not only a new, but even a more magnificent Title: For all religious Places, where Consecrations are made by *Auguries*, are call'd *augur*, either from the Word *Augur*, Increase, or *ab Avium Gesta Gessura*, from the Flights and Feeding of Birds, as we may learn by this of *Ennius*,

Augusto Augurio posquam inclita credita Romae est.

Then, by auspicious Auguries, on high
The Walls of Rome are rais'd in Majesty.

8. When he was four Years old he lost his Father, and in his twelfth Year he made a Funeral Oration upon his Grand-Mother *Julia*, and four Years after, he put on the ; Habit of Manhood, and receiv'd the † Military Presents at *Cesar's African Triumph*, tho', by reason of his early Age, he was incapable of acting in Arms. When his Uncle went into *Spain* against *Pompey's* Sons, he was scarcely recover'd from a severe Sickness, yet he follow'd him with a slender

† *Julius Caesar*; for *Augustus's* Mother *Atia*, was the Daughter of *Julius Caesar's* Sister. See § 4.

& Because he beautify'd the City wonderfully, and increased it. See § 28.

‖ *Augur* is a Sacrificial Word. For if the Beast they flew in Sacrifice prov'd defective, they kill'd another, and another, till they found one which was perfect; and this was term'd *augere Hostias*, To increase the Victims.

; A Year before the usual Time.

†† These were of several Kinds, and were bestow'd on the Soldiers by the General, as Rewards of their Valour and good Service.

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der Attendance, notwithstanding the Ways were closely beset by the Enemy, and he was also Ship-wreck'd in his Passage. By this he merited highly with *Cæsar*, who, beside the Dispatch shewn in performing the Journey, was wonderfully pleas'd with such a Specimen of his Genius and Conduct. After the Reduction of *Spain*, *Cæsar* designing to undertake an Expedition against the *Daci*, and then against the *Parthians*, he was sent before to *Apollonia*, where he prosecuted his Studies. As soon as he * understood that *Cæsar* was kill'd, and himself appointed his Heir, he was for a long time in Suspence, whether he shou'd not implore the Assistance of the Legions which were next at hand; and at length laid aside such a Thought as dangerous and rash; and going to *Rome*, claim'd his Inheritance in Form of Law, tho' his Mother was full of † Fears about it, and his Father-in-law *Marcus Philippus*, a Consular Man, earnestly dissuaded him from it. And from this Time, having drawn his Troops together, he rul'd the Republick, at first in Conjunction with *M. Anthony* and *Marcus Lepidus*, and then with *Anthony* alone for almost Fourteen Years, and at last singly in his own Person for Forty four.

9. Having thus given as it were a Summary of his Life, I shall proceed to describe the several Parts of it separately, not according to the order of Time, but according to the Nature of his Actions, and their mutual Dependence on each other, that so they may appear the more distinctly, and be the better understood. He was engag'd in five Civil Wars, in that of *Matina*, of *Philippæ*, of *Perusia*, *Sicily* and *Astium*.

The

* The News came to him in the Evening, when he had been Six Months at *Apollonia*.

† His Mother and his Father-in-Law were afraid he wou'd either commit some rash ill-advis'd Action, or be deluded by the fair Promises of his Enemies, till they had got him into their Power.

The first and last of which he was'd against *M. Anthony*, the second against *Brutus* and *Caesar*, the third against *Lucius Anthony*, the Brother of the *Tribune*, and the fourth against *Julius Caesar*, the Son of *Caesar*.

10. The Original and Cause of all his Warts, was his looking on himself as oblig'd in Point of Interest to revenge his Uncle's Death, and to confirm his Acts. As soon as he came from *Apollonia*, he design'd to have attack'd *Brutus* and *Caesar* by Force before they were aware; but when they foresaw the Danger, well avoided it, he resolv'd to fall upon them by the Laws, and to accuse them in their Absence, as guilty of Murder. And the proper Officers not daring to present the Games instituted in Honour of *Caesar's* Victory, he celebrated them himself. And that he might be able to execute his Designs with the greater Vigour, upon the Death of one of the *Tribunes*, he stood Candidate for the Office, tho' he was of the † *Patrician Order*, and had not yet been a Senator. But *M. Anthony* the Consul, upon whose Assistance he principally depended, thwarting his Measures, and refusing to do him common Justice in any Instance, without having first exacted a Promise of an extravagant Premium, he address'd himself to the Nobles, to whom *Anthony* he knew was extremely odious, especially for his attempting to dispossess, by Force of Arms, *D. Brutus*, when he was besieged at *Mutina* of a Province which was given him by *Caesar*, and confirm'd by the Senate. Several therefore prompting him to it, he hir'd *Ruffians* to assassinate the Consul; and fearing, when the Treachery was discover'd, it might be return'd upon him in kind, he hir'd the *Veterane Troops* by prodigious Largesses to protect him, and to secure the Common Weale.

Receiving

* The *Pharfallian*.

† To qualify a Man for the *Tribuneship*, it was necessary that he shou'd be a *Commoner* and a *Senator*.

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Receiving Orders to command, in the Pretor's room, the Army which was now rais'd, and with *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, who were enter'd on the Consulship, to relieve *D. Brutus*, he finish'd that War at two Battles in the compass of three Months. In the first Engagement *Anthony* writes that he fled, and was seen two Days after without his General's Robe and his Horse; in the second, 'tis certain he perform'd the Part not only of a Leader, but of a Common Soldier also; and in the midst of the Fight, the Ensign of his Legion being sorely wounded, he took the Standard upon his own Shoulders, and bore it a considerable Time.

11. *Hirtius* and *Pansa* both perishing in this Expedition, *Hirtius* in the Battle, and *Pansa* shortly after of a Wound, a Rumour flew about that they were slain by his means; that so *Anthony* being defeated, and the Republick depriv'd of the Consuls, the conquering Army might be solely under his Command. The Death of *Pansa* was so strongly suspected, that *Glycer*, his Surgeon, was taken into Custody upon a Presumption of having poison'd the Wound. *Aquilius Niger* adds, that *Hirtius*, the other Consul, was slain by *Octavius's* own Hands in the Confusion of the Action.

12. As soon as he understood that *Anthony* after his Flight was well receiv'd by *Lepidus*, and that the other Generals and their Troops had declar'd for the * Senate, he immediately chang'd Hands again, and abandon'd the Cause of the Nobility; and to justify the Turn, he interpreted in a malignant Sense the Sayings and Behaviour of several of them; as that some had said scornfully, *He was a Boy*, and others,

* i.e. for *Pompey's* Party, by which they were now become *Augustus's* Enemies. To support himself therefore, he made up his Quarrel with *Anthony*, and prevail'd with him and *Lepidus* to unite their Forces on his Side against the Senate.

thers, that He might be * dress'd up, and then knock'd on the Head, in order to defraud him and the brave Veterans of the just Reward of their Service. And the more heartily to express his Sorrow for having ever given into the other Faction, he banish'd the *Nusui*, whom he had put under a severe Fine, which they were unable to pay, because on the Tomb of the Citizens who were kill'd at *Marius*, they had made a publick Inscription, *These fell in the Cause of Liberty.*

13. Striking up a Confederacy with *Anthony* and *Lepidus*, he brought the War of *Philippa* to an End in Two Battles, tho' he labour'd under a very ill State of Health. In the first he was driven from his Camp, and had much ado to escape to the Wing where *Anthony* commanded. After the Victory he observ'd no Moderation, but sent the Head of *Brutus* to *Rome*, to be laid at the Foot of *Cæsar's* Statue; and treated every illustrious Prisoner with Taunt and Passion: Insomuch that he is said to have answer'd one who humbly sued for the Favour of Burial, *That must be as the Birds and he cou'd agree it.* And when a Father and Son begg'd for their Lives, he commanded them either to draw Lots, or to take their Chance at the Sword, to determine which of them shou'd be sav'd, and look'd on and saw them both expire. For the Father, who gave himself up to the Stroke, being kill'd, the Son dispatch'd himself with his own Hands. Wherefore when the rest, among whom was *M. Porcius*, who had affect-ed to imitate *Cato*, were led to Execution in Chains, they paid an honourable Salute to *Anthony* their General, but pour'd out the blackest Reproaches upon

Officiis

* The Latin is capable of a double Sense, either that he shou'd be honour'd and promoted, or that he shou'd be dress'd up and slain; alluding to the Custom of decking the Beasts, which were to be sacrific'd, with Ribbonds and other Ornaments.

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Octavius to his Face. All Offices and Powers being shar'd between them after the Victory, the Command of the East fell to *Anthony*, while *Octavius* undertook to march back the Veterans into *Italy*, and divide to them the * Municipal Lands; by which he at once disoblig'd both the Soldiers and the Proprietors, these complaining they were driven out of their Possessions, and the others that † their Merits were not rewarded as they expected.

14. At this Time *Lucius Anthony*, who presum'd on his own Consulship and on his Brother's Power, starting new Commotions, he forc'd him to fly to *Perusa*, and compell'd him to surrender by Famine; tho' not without having been himself in very great Danger, both in the War and before it. For one of the baser Soldiers happening to place himself, at the Publick Shews, in the Gallery belonging to the Knights, he sent an Officer to bid him withdraw; upon which his Enemies giving out that the poor Fellow was afterwards put to death by Torture, he narrowly escap'd being destroy'd by the Rage of the Soldiers who began to gather about him: That which sav'd him was, the Man's shewing himself suddenly in Safety, and without any Marks of Injury upon him. And as he was sacrificing before the Walls of *Perusa*, he was very near being intercepted by a Band of Gladiators who sall'y'd out of the Town.

15. The City being taken, he pursu'd his Revenge on a great Number, and when they endeavour'd to ask Pardon, or to excuse themselves, he cut them short with this single Sentence, *Ius must die*. Some write, that of those who had surrender'd themselves, he chose out Three hundred of either Order, and in the

* *Lands belonging to the enfranchis'd Towns in Italy.*

† *Appian says, the Soldiers insisted to have the principal Cities bestow'd upon them, according to an Allotment made before the War began.*

the * Ides of March had them slaughter'd like Victims upon an Altar erected to Julius Caesar. Others have also affirm'd this War to be merely an Invention of his own, that his secret Enemies, who were restrain'd more by Fear than Affection, being flesh'd by Lucius Anthony's undertaking to head them, might bolt out and shew themselves, and that being overcome, and their Estates confiscated, he might be able to give his Veterane Troops the Rewards he had promis'd them.

16. His first War was the Sicilian, which was drawn into Length by frequent Intermissions. For sometimes he was oblig'd to lie by for the Repairing of his Fleet, which had been twice destroy'd by Wrecks and Storms, even in the Summer Season, and at other times he was forc'd to clap up a Peace to satisfy the Importunities of the People, who began to clamour, because all Communications were intercepted, and the Famine increas'd daily among them. At last, new Ships being built, and Twenty thousand Slaves made free, and put to the Oar, he form'd the Julian Harbour at *Bras*, by letting the Sea into the *Lucrine* and *Avernian* Lake; and having exercis'd his Forces here all the Winter, he defeated Pompey between † *Myle* and † *Naulachum*. At the Hour when the Fight was to begin, he was suddenly seiz'd with so profound a Sleep, that his Friends were forc'd to wake him to give the Signal to engage. And this, I believe, furnish'd Anthony with a Handle for reproaching him, That he was not able to turn his Eyes directly upon the Line of Battle, but lay along stupidly going on the Shaes, and wou'd not get up and shew himself to his Men, before Marcus Agrippa had put the Enemy Ships to Flight. Others reproach him, as well for some of his Expressions, as for his Conduct, as if he had said when his Navy was ruin'd by a Storm, That he wou'd win the Victory, even in

dispite

* The Time when Julius Caesar was kill'd.

† Two Towns on the North-East Coast of Sicily.

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despite of Neptune. And accordingly, when the Circensian Games were next perform'd, he extended Neptune's Image from the Solemnity. In no other of his Wars was he in more or greater Dangers than in this. For having transported Part of his Army into Sicily, and returning to bring over the Remainder, he was unexpectedly attack'd by Demetrius and Apollonius. Two of Pompey's Captains, and very narrowly escap'd with a single Vessel. Another time as he was going on Foot from * *Lauri* to * *Rhegium*, he saw Two of Pompey's Gallies coasting the Shore, and taking them for his own, went down to the Strand, and had like to have been made Prisoner; and even as he was seeking to save himself thro' secret Paths, a Slave of his intimate Companion *Æmilius Paulus*, provok'd at *Augustus's* having formerly proscrib'd his Master's Father, and seeing so fair an Opportunity offer'd for revenging it, endeavour'd to kill him. After Pompey's Defeat, *Marcus Lepidus*, one of his Collegues whom he had invited to his Assistance out of *Africa*, haughtily presuming on the Force of his having Twenty Legions under his Command, claim'd, in a menacing Manner, the Superiour Power, and imagin'd he shou'd terrifie him into a Compliance: But he threw him out of all, and depriv'd him of his Army, and granting him his Life at his humble Supplication, banish'd him to † *Circi* for ever.

17. His Correspondence with *Mark Anthony*, which had been always wavering and precarious, and was languidly preserv'd by several Reconciliations, he at length broke off entirely. And the more plainly to shew how *Anthony* had degenerated from the Part

* Two Towns in Italy.

† A Town of Latium.

of a good Citizen of Rome, he caus'd the † Will he had left behind him to be open'd and read in publick, in which the Children of *Clodia* were nam'd among his Heirs. Yet, when *Anthony* had declar'd himself his Enemy, he honourably permitted his Dependents and Friends, and among them C. *Sepas* and T. *Dimitius*, who were then Consuls, to go over to him; and because the Inhabitants of *Bononia* were antiently under the Patronage of *Anthony's* Family, he forgave them their uniting with all Italy on his side. Not long after this he conquer'd *Anthony* in a Sea-Fight at *Actium*, continuing the Battle till it was very late, that he might at last have the Satisfaction of sleeping Victorious that Night on board. Having sail'd from *Actium*, and put himself into Winter Quarters at the Island *Samos*, he was alarm'd with Advice, that the Soldiers whom he had drawn out of every Company and sent before to *Brundisium*, were in a Mutiny for their Rewards and their Discharge; upon which he return'd to Italy, and was twice overtaken with a Storm in his Passage; first between the Promontories of *Peloponnesus* and *Stolis*, and then near the † *Ceraunian Mountains*; in both Tempests part of his † *Liburnian Gallies* were sunk, and the Ship in which he was, lost her Tackle, and hid

† *Plutarch says, Anthony had left the Will in the Hands of the Vestal Virgins, who refus'd to deliver it when Augustus sent to demand it, and answer'd, he shou'd come in Person and fetch it, if he wou'd have it, which he did. This violent Act of Augustus to break open and publish a Will while the Testator was living, gave great Offence, and was generally resented.*

* *A Town of Achaemia in Greece.*

‡ *Very high Mountains of Epirus, towards the Ionian Sea.*

† *A light swift sort of Vessels, carrying two Oars. The Romans learn'd the Use of them from the People of Liburnia, and from thence they had the Name.*

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had her Rudder torne off. He stay'd but Seven and twenty Days, till he had satisfy'd the Soldiers Demands; and then taking a Course thro' *Affa* and *Syria* he went to *Egypt*, and besieging *Alexandria*, whither *Anthony* was fled with *Cleopatra*; he carry'd it in a short time. And *Anthony* endeavouring to procure Conditions of Peace too late, he forc'd him to stab himself in Despair, and || inhumanly view'd him when he was Dead. Having a wonderful Desire to reserve *Cleopatra* for his Triumph, he sent some of the * *Physicks* to suck the Venom out of her Wounds, because she was thought to have destroy'd herself by *Aspics*. He allow'd the unhappy Couple the Honour of one common Tomb, and order'd the Monument, which themselves had begun, to be finish'd. Young *Anthony*, the eldest of his Father's two Sons, by *Fulvia*, fled to an Image of *Julius Cæsar*, where after he had pour'd out many fruitless Prayers for his Life, he commanded him to be hal'd away and slain; and catching † *Cæsarion* as he fled, whom *Cleopatra* declar'd she had by *Cæsar*, he put him to Death also. The rest of hers and *Anthony's* Children he treated as if they had been his own Relations and Friends, and cherish'd and promoted them according to their Capacities.

18. The Corps of *Alexander* the Great, with the Coffin, being at the same time taken out of the Vault where

|| This Circumstance of Inhumanity is mention'd by no other Writer: And *Plutarch* says, *Augustus* retir'd into his Tent, and burst into Tears for the Loss of his old Companion and Friend.

* A People of *Libya*, whose Saliva, as *Pliny* relates, Lib. 7. was fatal to Serpents; They were able to draw the Poyson out of a Wound with their Mouths.

† As *Augustus* was considering, whether he shou'd execute or spare him, *Arius* the Philosopher told him, it was dangerous to have several Cæsars.

where it was deposited, he plac'd it before him, and pay'd Honours to it, putting a Crown of Gold upon it, and strewing it with Flowers; and being ask'd whether he wou'd not also view the *Prolemae*, he answer'd, * *He desir'd to see a King, and not dead Men.* He reduc'd *Egypt* into a † *Province*; and to make it the more fruitful and able to furnish *Rome* with Corn, he employ'd his Soldiers to cleanse the Channels, into which the Nile overflows, which had been long choak'd up with Mud. And to deliver the Remembrance of his *Asian* Victory to Posterity with the greater Renown, he founded the City * *Nicopolis* at *Asian*, and appointed Games to be perform'd every five Years; enlarg'd the ancient † Temple of *Apollo*, and adorning the Ground, on which he had encamp'd, with the Naval Spoils, consecrated it to *Neptune* and *Mars*.

19. He successively detested several Insurrections and Conspiracies, and suppress'd them before they came to any Maturity. The first who plotted against him was young *Lepidus*; the next was *Parrus* at *Macedonia*, and *Tamius Cepsis*: After whom was *M. Ignatius*, and then *Plautius Rufus*, and *Lucius Poulus*, his Son-in-law's Father; and beside these, *L. Andasius*, an old decrepit Forger of Deeds, and *Asinius Epicadus*, one of a base Mungril Strain, a *Parthynian* by Na-
tion;

* Alluding to the Glory of Alexander's Actions, and the Effeminacy and Luxury of the *Prolemies*, who had done nothing to preserve their Names from perishing in Oblivion.

† Contrary to the Judgment of Julius Caesar, mention'd Page 21.

* i. e. The City of Victory.

† *Apollo's* Temple was at the Mouth of the *Ambresian* Gulf in *Epirus*. The City *Nicopolis*, according to *Dio*, was built on the Ground where *Augustus* had pitch'd his Camp, and the Temple in that particular Spot which had been cover'd by his Pavilion.

tion; and lastly, *Telephus*, a Slave, who was † Nomenclator to a certain Woman: For he was in Danger from the Designs even of Persons of the meanest Condition. *Audasius* had projected to take his Daughter *Julia*, and *Agrippa* his Grandson, from the Islands where they were * confin'd, and carry them off to the Army; and *Telephus*, as if the Fates had ow'd him the Empire, intended to attack both *Augustus* and the Senate together. Also one Nighr, a Scullion belonging to the *Illyrian* Troops, having deceiv'd the Warders, was seiz'd near his Bed-Chamber arm'd with a Huntsman's Dagger; but whether he was really distracted, or only dissembled Madness, is uncertain: For nothing cou'd be drawn out of him by Torture.

20. He manag'd but two Foreign Wars in Person; namely, the ** *Dalmatian*, when he was very || young, and the †† *Cantabrian*, after *Anthony's* Defeat. He receiv'd several Wounds in the *Dalmatian*; for in one Battel he had a Blow on the right Knee with a Stone, and in another he was hurt in his Thigh and both his Arms by the Fall of a Bridge. The rest of his Wars he wag'd by Lieutenants. However, that he might either be on the Spot, or at a very short Distance in some of them, as the *Pannonian* and *German*, he advanc'd from *Rome* as far as *Ravenna*, *Milan* or *Aquileia*.

21. And partly in Person, and partly by his Commanders, he subdu'd *Cantabria*, *Aquitania*, *Pannonia*
E and

† A Nomenclator was a Slave who attended his Master or Mistress to tell them the Names of the Persons they met, that they might be able to pay every one the Respect of saluting him by his Name.

* See §. 65.

** *Dalmatia* was Part of *Illyricum*, which was situated by the *Adriatick Sea*, now the *Gulf of Venice*.

|| Thirty Years old.

†† The *Cantabri* were Inhabitants of that Part of *Spain* which is now call'd *Biscay*.

and Dalmatia, with all *Ilyricum*; and conquer'd *Rhaetia*, and the *Findlici* and *Salassi*, Nations living within the *Alps*. He repress'd the Incursions of the *Daci*, killing Three of their Generals, with a great Body of Men, and drove the *Germans* beyond the *Rhine*. And the *Ubii* and *Sicambri* surrendering themselves, he transplanted them into *Gaul*, and plac'd them in the Fields next the *Rhine*. Other Nations which were Malecontent, and ready to break into a Flame, he quieted and held in Obedience; and never began a War with any, but upon just and necessary Occasions. And so far was he from an Ambition of augmenting Empire or Military Glory, that he oblig'd several Barbarian Princes to swear in the Temple of *Mars the Avenger*, faithfully to maintain the Peace they had sought. He endeavour'd to procure from some a new sort of Hostages, Women, because he saw the Male Pledges were generally neglected; yet he always allow'd any Nation to recall their Hostages at pleasure. Even those who rebell'd frequently and in a very perfidious Manner, he punish'd with no other Severity, than to sell their Captives with this Condition, that they shou'd not serve in the neighbouring Country, nor be set at Liberty within Thirty Years. The Fame of which Clemency and Moderation provok'd even the *Indians* and *Scythians*, who were known only by Report, to desire by their Ambassadors his Friendship and the Alliance of the *Roman* People. The *Parthians* also readily gave up *Armenia* to him when he claim'd it, and sent him back at his Demand, the Ensigns they had taken from *Craesus* and *Mark Anthony*, and offer'd Hostages; and when several contended for the Kingdom, they were determin'd by him, and approv'd the Person whom he prefer'd.

22. The

* The *Parthians* resign'd *Armenia* about Twelve Years after they had receiv'd the Ensigns, tho' *Suetonius* mentions it first.

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22. The Temple of *Janus Quirinus*, which had been twice shut before his Age since the Building of the City, he shut up thrice in a much shorter Space of Time, having obtain'd Peace by Sea and Land. He enter'd the City twice in an * Ovation, after the War of *Philippi* and of *Sicily*; and made Three Triumphs, for the *Dalmatian*, *Asiatic* and *Alexandrian* Victories, which all lasted Three Days.

23. He suffer'd but Two considerable Defeats, and those only in *Germany*, in the Persons of *Lollius* and *Varus*. That of *Lollius* was more infamous than prejudicial; but *Varus's* was almost fatal; Three Legions being cut to Pieces, with the General, the Lieutenants, and all the Auxiliaries. When the News arriv'd, he plac'd a Watch thro' the City to prevent a Tumult, and prolong'd the Commissions of the Governors of the Provinces, that the Allies might be the better preserv'd in their Fidelity, by Men who were well acquainted with them, and accusom'd to the Place. He vow'd also to perform the *Circusian* Games in Honour of *Jupiter Supreme*, *If he wou'd recover the Common-Wealth into a better Condition*: Which Vow had been likewise made in the *Cimbrian* and *Marsian* War. 'Tis said this Misfortune threw him into such a Consternation, that he let his Hair and Beard grow wild several Months, and sometimes dash'd his Head against the Walls, crying out, *Quintilius Varus, give me back my Legions*, and observ'd the Day of this Overthrow every Year with Mourning.

24. In the Art of War he chang'd and invented several Things, and reduc'd some Parts of it to the ancient Practice. He was very severe in his Discipline, and never allow'd even the principal Officers to visit their Wives, but with great Reluctance, and

E 2

only

* An Ovation was an inferior sort of Triumph, in which the General enter'd the City on Foot, whereas in the Triumph he rode in a Chariot.

only in the Winter Months. A Roman Knight having cut off the Thumbs of his Two Sons to prevent their being listed, he expos'd him and his Goods to Sale, and perceiving the * Publicans ready to make the Purchase, he gave him to his Freedman, to be sent down into the II Country to live at large. The Tenth Legion growing mutinous he broke them with Disgrace, and disbanded others, who insisted on their Discharge in an insolent Manner, without granting them the Donatives belonging to such as were arriv'd at the Age which by Law exempted them from Service. If any Companies had given ground, he decimated them and fed them with Barley; and the Centurions and Ensigns, who had deserted their Posts, he punish'd with Death. For other Faults he inflicted various Kinds of Disgrace; as to stand a whole Day before the † General's Tent, sometimes in their Waste-Coat ungirt, and sometimes holding a Pole of Ten Foot, or Sods of Earth in their Hands.

25. After the Civil Wars he never styl'd them, either in his Harangues or Edicts, *Fellow-Soldiers*, but simply *Soldiers*; nor suffer'd his Sons or Sons-in-law, when they commanded, to call them by any other Appellation; esteeming it a piece of Flattery which neither comported with the Nature of Martial Discipline, the peaceable Circumstances of the Times, nor with his own Dignity, nor the Majesty of his Family. Unless in the Case of sudden Fires, or when a Tumult

* The Publicans being of the same Order, intended to have bought him, in order to set him at Liberty.

II. This was a sort of Banishment; for he was oblig'd to live there, without returning to Rome, tho' he had his Freedom allow'd him in the Country and was not treated as a Slave.

† By this they were at once expos'd to the Eyes of all the principal Officers, who frequented the General's Tent for Orders, and to the View of the whole Camp.

Tamul was apprehended on Account of a Scarcity of Provisions, he never made use of the baser Soldiery which consisted of manumitted Slaves, excepting twice; namely, for covering the Colonies on the Borders of *Myricum*, and to defend the Banks of the *Rhine*. On those Occasions he order'd all Persons, both Men and Women who were very rich, to send in so many of their Slaves, whom after some time he made free, but still kept them in the Company in which they were first enter'd, and did not mingle them with the Free-born Troops, nor arm them after the same manner. He was for presenting his Soldiers rather with Housing, Chains, or any Ornaments of Gold and Silver, than with the several Military Crowns, which were the more honourable Rewards. These he bestow'd very sparingly, and without Ostentation or Preference, allotting them even to the Soldiers of the meanest sort. And after the Naval Victory he gave to *M. Agrippa* a Standard of a Sea-green Colour; and only thought it improper to dispense such Gifts to any who had triumph'd, tho' they had accompany'd him in his Expeditions, and borne a great Share in his Conquests; because, by their Quality they had the Power of conferring the same upon others. Nothing in his Judgment less became a compleat General than Hastiness and Temerity; and therefore he wou'd often repeat these Lines;

Σπουδὴ βραδύτης, &c.

Ἀσφαλὺς ὃς ἐὶ ἀμείνων, ἢ δεξιὸς ἑγερνάτης.

Slow be thy Haste, and wary Councils hold;
The cautious Leader far excels the bold.

And, *Every Thing is done soon enough which is done well enough.* And he was absolutely of Opinion, that no War or Battel shou'd ever be undertaken unless when the Prospect of Success was more than the Fear of Losing. For they who pursue an inconsiderable Advantage at no inconsiderable Hazard, he said, are like

Persons who fish with a Golden Hook, the Loss of which by the breaking of the Line can never be made up by all the Fish they can take.

26. He receiv'd Magistracies and Honours before the legal Age, and some which were perpetual and of a new Kind. He invaded the Consulship when he was but Twenty Years old, marching his Troops in a hostile manner to the City, and sending some to demand it for him in the Name of the Army. The Senate demurring on the Point, *Cornelius Centurio*, the Principal of the Detachment, threw back his Robe, and shewing the Hilt of his Sword, had the Face to declare in open Court, *This shall give it him if you refuse it.* He held a second Consulate Nine Years after; and with the Interval of one Year, a third; from whence he accepted it successively to the eleventh, and then refus'd it several times when it was offer'd him; but he stood voluntarily for the twelfth, after a long distance of Seventeen Years; and Two Years after this for the thirteenth, that being possess'd of the highest Station, he might with more Advantage introduce his Sons *Gaius* and *Lucius*, after they had perform'd the previous Exercises, to Pleading in Publick. He continu'd in the five intermediate Consulships, from the sixth to the eleventh, the whole Year; but the six others he bore either nine, six, four or three Months, and the second but a few Hours. For upon the * *Kalends of January*, having sat a little while in the Morning before the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* in the Curule Chair, he laid down his Office, and substituted one to take it in his stead. He did not enter upon his Consulate always in the † City, but was invested with the

Fourth

* Upon that Day the new Consuls always began their Office, and us'd to place themselves, according to Form, in the Curule Chair, which was made of Ivory.

† The new Consuls were oblig'd to begin their Magistracy in Rome, and cou'd not enter upon it in any other Place.

Fourth in *Aſia*, with the Fifth in the Iſland *Samos*, and with the Eighth and Ninth in *Tarraco*.

27. He ſuſtain'd the Triumvirate for regulating the Commonwealth, Ten Years; in which he diſputed it with his Associates for ſome time, that there might be no Proſcription; but when it was once begun, he executed it more ſeverely than either of them. For they were prevail'd on for ſeveral by Interceſſion and by Friends, but he alone inſiſted that none ſhou'd be ſpar'd, proſcribing even his Tutor *C. Terentius*, who had alſo been Collegue with his Father *Oſtius* in the Edileſhip. *Junius Saturninus* alſo reports of him, that when the Proſcription was over, *Lepidus* made an excuſe in the Senate for the paſt Proceedings, and gave them Hopes of his obſerving more Clemency for the future, ſince the Punishments had been carry'd to a ſufficient Length; but *Oſtius* on the contrary declar'd, he had reſolv'd on a Proſcription of ſuch a Nature, as ſhou'd leave him free to act as he pleas'd. But repenting afterwards of his Obſtinacy, he promoted *T. Vinus Philoponus* to the Equeſtrian Dignity, becauſe he was ſaid to have conceal'd his Patron when he was proſcrib'd. While he was poſſeſs'd of this Power, he was full of barbarous Revenge. Thus the People crouding in once among the Soldiers as he was making an Oration, he took notice that *Pinarus*, a Roman Knight, wrote ſomething down; and looking upon him as a buſie Fellow and a Spy, he order'd him to be ſlain before his Face. And *Tedius Aſer*, the Conſul Elect, having ſharply cenſur'd one of his Actions, he ſo terrify'd him with his Threatnings, that he threw himſelf from an Eminence and broke his Neck. And *Q. Gallius* the Pretor, carrying a * Table-Book

E 4

under

* The Table-Books were made of Parchment ſeſſual times folded. They were nam'd according to the Number of the Folds, hence *Suetonius* calls this, *Tabellas duplices*, becauſe it conſiſted of Two Folds.

under his Garment, when he waited on him at the Morning Salutation, he suspected he had conceal'd a Dagger there; and not venturing to make any Inquiry, lest it shou'd prove otherwise, he had him shortly after taken out of Court by the Centurions and Soldiers, and tortur'd like a Slave; and when he confess'd nothing, he commanded him to be kill'd, having first crush'd out his Eyes with his own Hands. Yet in his own Account of this Affair he says, that *Gallius* desir'd an Interview in order to perpetrate a Design against his Person, that he had put him in Prison, and then releas'd him, having forbid him the City, and that he perish'd either by Shipwreck or by Robbers. He accepted a perpetual Tribuneship, but chose himself a Colleague twice in the Space of Five Years. He also assum'd the Office of regulating the Laws and Manners for ever, by which, tho' he had not the formal Honour of the Censorship, he thrice assess'd the People, the first and last time with a Colleague, and the second alone.

23. It was twice in his Thoughts to restore the Commonwealth. Once after he had reduc'd *Anthony*, remembering it had been often objected to him, that he was the Occasion why it was not done, and afterwards his continual ill Health growing very troublesome to him, he summon'd the Magistrates and Senate to his House, and deliver'd to them the Register of the Empire. But reflecting that he cou'd not put himself under a private Character with Safety, and that it was a rash thing to give up the Conduct of the State to the Will of many, he chang'd his Thoughts, and resolv'd to keep it in his own Hands. In which Action 'tis uncertain whether his Intention or the Event deserves most to be admir'd. For as he was always magnifying his Purposes and Zeal for the common Good, so in one of his Edicts he has these Expressions, *May I be able to bring the Republick into a prosperous and well establish'd Condition, and to see my Endeavours to effect this, produce*

the

the Fruits which I desire; that so I may be call'd the Author of the most excellent Plan of Government: And when I die may I carry this Hope with me, That those Foundations of the Commonwealth which I shall lay, will always endure. And he made himself Master of his Wishes; for it was his whole Application, that no one should ever repent of the Model he introduc'd.

29. The City, which was not adorn'd agreeably to the Majesty of the Empire, and was subject to the Inundations of the *Tiber* and to frequent Figgæ, he so beautify'd and improv'd, that he justly glory'd he shou'd leave it rais'd of Marble, which he had found built of Brick. He dispos'd it also into as safe a Condition for the future as human Circumspection was able to invent. He founded a great many Publick Edifices; the chief of which were the Forum, with the Fane of *Mars* the Avenger; the Temple of *Apollø* in the *Palatine Quarter* of the City, and of *Jupiter* the Thunderer in the Capitol. The Occasion of his erecting a Forum, was the Multitude of Clients and Law-Suits, for which two Courts not being sufficient, there seem'd to be a Necessity of a third. Wherefore he caus'd Publick Notice to be given with wonderful Expedition, even before the Temple of *Mars* was finish'd, that Judgments and Ballotings shou'd be perform'd separately in the new Forum. He had vow'd a Temple to *Mars* in the War of *Philippe*, which he undertook for revenging his Father's Death. In this he ordain'd the Senate shou'd hold their Consultations concerning Wars and Triumphs; that Generals who were going to command in the Provinces shou'd begin their Procession from hence, and that such as return'd Victors shou'd lodge the Trophies of their Conquests here. He built the Temple of *Apollø* in that Part of the *Palatine Quarter* which had been destroy'd by Lightning; and which, the Soothsayers for that Reason declar'd,

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was

* *Julius Cæsar, who was Augustus's Great Uncle by Blood, and his Father by Adoption. See pag. 52. and 62.*

was peculiarly affected by the God: And added a Portico, with a Greek and Latin Library; in which, when he was grown in Years, he often assembled the Senate, and review'd the Clauses of the Judges. He consecrated a Temple to Jupiter the Thunderer, upon his being deliver'd from an imminent Danger in his Expedition in *Castalia*, when a Flash of Lightning struck upon his Litter, as he was travelling by Night, and kill'd the Slave who went before with the Torch. He rais'd several Structures under other Persons Names; as of his Grand-Children, his Wife and his Sister: Such are the Portico and Hall of *Edictor* and *Cains*, and the Portico of *Livia* and *Octavia*, and the Theatre of *Marcus*. He also recommended it to every Roman of Distinction to contribute what he cou'd to the Ornament of the City, either by forming new Buildings, or by repairing and polishing the old. And this produc'd a great many Edifices. For *Marcus Philippus* built the Temple of *Horatius*, Companion of the Muses; and *Lucius Censorius* another to *Diana*; *Agnus Pallas*, the Court of Liberty; *Munatius Plancus*, the Temple of *Saturn*; and *Cornelius Balbus*, a Theatre; and *Statilius Taurus*, an Amphitheater; and *Marcus Agrippa*, a large Number of Magnificent Works.

30. He divided the City into * Regions and Precincts, and appointed that the first shou'd be govern'd by Magistrates elected annually by Lot, and the others by some chosen out of the People of each Neighbourhood. And for a Security against Fires, he instituted a Nightly Watch and Ward; and in order to prevent its Inundations, enlarg'd and cleans'd the Channel of the *Tiber*, which had been long choak'd up with Rubbish, and contracted by Ruines of Houses which had tumbled into it. And to render the Avenues to the City from every Part more commodious, he undertook to repair the *Fla-*

minian

* This Division seems very much to answer our Wards and Parishes.

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minian Way as far as *Arminium* at his own Expence, committing the other Roads to Persons who had triumph'd, to be levell'd and pay'd out of the Money arising from the Spoils. Consecrated Places which were fallen by Length of Time, or consum'd by Fire, he rebuilt, and enrich'd them and the rest with inestimable Presents: For he gave at one Donative to the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* Sixteen Thousand Pounds Weight of Gold, and Jewels and Pearls, to the Value of Fifty Millions of Sesterces.

31. After he had at last assum'd the High Priesthood upon *Lepidus's* Death, for he refus'd to deprive him of it while he liv'd, he collected together all the Prophetical Books, both in *Greek* and *Latin*, which had been publish'd by Authors either unknown or of no Authority, and burnt above Two Thousand, preserving only the *Sybilline*; and making a Choice out of them, he repos'd them in two Golden Cases, under the Base of *Apollon's* Statue, in the *Palatine Quarter* of the City. The Year, which had been settled by *Julius Caesar*, and was again put into Disorder by Negligence, he reduc'd to its primitive Plan, and impos'd his own Name on the Month *Sextilis*, rather than on *September* in which he was born, because in the other he had receiv'd his first Consulate, and obtain'd several celebrated Victories. He augmented the Number, the Dignity, and the Profits of the Priests, particularly of the *Vestal Virgins*; and when upon the Death of one of them, another was to be put in her stead, and several Parents made Interest that their Daughters might not be chosen, he swore if any of his own Grand-Daughters were of Age he wou'd himself offer them to be consecrated. He reviv'd some antient Ceremonies which were grown out of use; as the * *Augury of Health*, the *Flamen Dialis*,
the

* A Kind of Divination, by which they enquir'd whether the Gods wou'd permit them to pray to them for the Health or Safety of the People. *Dion.*

the Lupercal Rites, and the Secular and Compitalitian Games. He forbid any who had not a Beard, to run at the Lupercal Plays, and in the Secular he prohibited the Youth of either Sex to be present at any Nocturnal Shews, unless they had some Elder Relation with them. He order'd the *Loves Conspiracies* to be adorn'd twice a Year with Vernal and Summer Flowers. Next to the Immortal Gods he honour'd the Memory of such Generals, as had extended the *Roman Empire* from its small Original to its present ample Dimension. Wherefore he restor'd their publick Works, retaining the *Inscriptions* entire, and erected them *Triumphal Statues* in both the *Portico's* of his Forum, and declar'd in an Edict, *That he did this on purpose that the People might oblige him while he liv'd, and the Princes of succeeding Ages to form themselves after the Examples of those Illustrious Men.* He remov'd from the Court where *Julius Caesar* was kill'd, the Statue of *Pompey*, and plac'd it on a Marble Gate over against his Theatre.

32. He rectify'd several Things which were of pernicious Example, and had prevail'd to the great Annoyance of the Publick, either thro' the Licentiousness and extravagant Customs of the Civil Wars, or thro' the supine Remissness of Peace. For a Number of Robbers appear'd openly with Weapons, as if they carry'd them only for their own Defence, and seizing Travellers without Distinction, whether Freeman or Slaves, hurry'd them away to the † *Work-Prisons* of the Owners of the Grounds where they were taken. Several Factions had also banded together, under the Title of the *New College*,

to

* *The Household Gods, whose Shrines were set up in the Publick Ways.*

|| *Which were made in Honour of the Founders.*

† *These were narrow subterraneous Places, where the Slaves were kept to hard Labour in grinding Corn, hewing stones, &c.*

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to the Commission of all manner of Villanies. Planting Guards therefore at convenient Places, he suppress'd the Robbers, and examin'd into those private Prisons, and dissolv'd all Companies which were not of an ancient and legal Constitution. He burn'd the old Tables of Publick Debts, which were made the chief Subject of invidious and false Prosecutions; and gave such Places in the City as were of a doubtful Property, to the Persons who were in Possession. He struck out from the Criminals Roll the Names of those who had been long confin'd, and whose Accusers propounded to themselves only the malignant Pleasure of seeing them lie in the Nastiness and Misery of a Prison, and ordain'd, that if any renew'd the Suit, he shou'd be liable to the same Hardships. And that no Misdemeanor might escape unpunish'd, or any Business suffer by Delay, he added to the Days for Publick Pleadings above Thirty, which by Custom were apply'd to the * Honorary Games. To the Three Benches of Judges he added a Fourth, consisting of Men of an inferior Quality, call'd *Justices Decemviri*, who sat upon smaller Matters. He elected Judges at the Age of Thirty Years, that is, Five Years sooner than was usual. And a great many declining to accept the Office, he was hardly prevail'd on to allow each Bench an Annual Vacation in turn, and that the Causes which were wont to be heard in November and December, shou'd be omitted.

33. He heard Causes, and gave Judgment himself daily, and sometimes by Night. If he was indispos'd, he had a Couch plac'd before the Tribunal, or rested upon one at home while the Debates proceeded. His Decisions were made not only with wonder-

* During the Performance of such Games, the Courts of Justice were adjourn'd.

† Call'd so from their cessing such whose Estate was Two hundred a Sestertia, or Five thousand Crowns in Value.

wonderful Attention and Care, but also with great Moderation. For having an Inclination to save one, who was guilty of manifest Parricide, from being † sew'd up in the Sack, since none were oppos'd to that Punishment unless they confess'd the Fact, 'tis said he put the Question to him thus, *But certainly, Friend, you did not kill your Father?* And an Indictment concerning a forg'd Will coming before him, in which Case all the Witnesses who sign'd it were equally involv'd by the *Comelian Law*, he not only gave to the Judges the Two Balls for Condemnation and Acquittal, but also a Third, by which those who had been drawn to subscribe it, by Circumvention or Mistake, shou'd be discharg'd. The Appeals of the Citizens in any Dispute he refer'd to the City Pretor, and such as were made abroad in the Provinces to Consular Men, each of whom he appointed to inspect and decide the Affairs of his particular District.

34. He reviv'd some Laws, and made others entirely new; as the Sumptuary Law, and the Laws concerning Adultery, Modesty and Bribing, and the Statute which oblig'd the several Orders to marry. But endeavouring to enforce the last something more severely than the others, he met with such Opposition that he cou'd not carry it without abating or mitigating Part of the Penalties, and by augmenting the Rewards, and by allowing every one three Years Space before it shou'd affect him. And when a certain Knight, at a Publick Shew, peremptorily demanded to have it repeal'd, he caus'd Germanicus's Children to be brought to him, and placing some in his own and some in their Father's Lap, he held them out to View, intimating by his Looks and Gestures that no one shou'd account it a Hardship

† The Punishment of a Parricide by the Roman Law, was to be sew'd up in a Sack with a Serpent and an Ape, and to be thrown into the River.

ship to follow the Example of that excellent Youth. Perceiving the Force of the Law was eluded by the Plea of Immaturity, and by frequent Divorces, he determin'd the Time of Marrying, and brought Divorces under proper Limitations.

35. At two Elections he reduc'd to its Original Splendor and Degree the Body of the Senators, who were become a confus'd and numberless Croud; (for they were above a Thousand, and some of them Persons of a mean Extraction and of no Merit, who got into the House after Cæsar's Death by Favour and Hire, and were therefore call'd by the People *Orini*.) In the first Election he left them every one to chuse his Man, and at the second he and *Agrippa* review'd them and made the final Choice. 'Tis a general Notion that he wore a Coat of Mail beneath his Garments, and went arm'd while he attended this Affair, and that Ten of his Friends of the Senatorian Order, who were very resolute and brave, were planted round his Chair. And *Cordus Crematius* says, he permitted no Senator to approach him, but singly, and after he had been search'd. He constrain'd some modestly to excuse themselves from accepting that Dignity; yet he still allow'd them to wear the Habit, to keep their Seat at the Shews, and to have the Privilege of eating at the † Publick Feasts in the Capitol. And that those who were now elected and approv'd might execute their Office the more religiously and with less Fatigue, he ordain'd, that before any one took his Seat in the House, he shou'd sacrifice with Frankincense and Wine at the Altar of that God in whose Temple the Senate was then assembled; that there shou'd not

* From *Orcus* the Place of the Shades below; whither Cæsar, who they pretended had brought them into the House, was descended.

† The Senators us'd to have a Banquet in the Temple of Jupiter in the Capitol.

not be more than Two : lawful Senates held in one Month, namely upon the Kalends and upon the Ides ; and that in September or October none shou'd be oblig'd to attend, but such as were chosen by Lot, whose Number shou'd be sufficient to pass any Decree. He instituted a Council also for himself to be nominated every six Months, with whom he debated before hand any Business which was to be laid before a full Senate. In Matters of Consequence he ask'd the Opinions of the Fathers, not according to Custom, or by their Order, but as he thought fit ; that so every one might be prepar'd, as if he were rather to judge upon the Point, than merely to give his Assent in Turn.

36. He was also the Author of several other Things ; as that the † Acts of the Senate shou'd not be made Publick ; that no one shou'd be sent Governor of a Province immediately upon his laying down any Magistracy ; that a certain Sum of Money shou'd be appointed to furnish the Proconsuls with their Equipage of Mules and Tents ; that the Care of the Treasury shou'd pass from the City Questor to the Pretors or Pretorian Men ; and that the Centumviral Court, which was usually held by the

* A lawful Senate, was an Assembly of the Senate upon stated and usual Days : There was also a Senatus indictus, which was a Senate call'd by Summons upon any Occasion.

* Before this Decree Four Hundred were necessary for passing any Act, but Augustus now allow'd a less Number to be sufficient.

† In this Particular Augustus differ'd from Julius Caesar's Opinion, who order'd them to be made Publick ; which was certainly a much fairer and more honourable Method. For to suppress the Publication is the same Thing as for a House of Commons with us to order their Votes not to be printed.

** The Judges of which were a Hundred in Number.

the Questors, shou'd be held by the Decemviri. And that more Persons might come to have a Share in the Government, he invented several new Offices; as Supervisors of the Publick Works, of the Ways and Waters, of the Channel of the *Tiber*, and of the Distributions of Corn to the People; also a Prefect of the City, a Triumvirate for electing a Senate, and another for reviewing the Troops of Horse, as often as there shou'd be Occasion. He also created Censors, who had been long disus'd, and enlarg'd the Number of Pretors: And desir'd that whenever he shou'd be chosen Consul, he might have Two Collegues instead of One; but this was refus'd him, the People universally declaring, it was Diminution enough to his Dignity, that he receiv'd one into that Honour with him, and did not hold it himself alone.

38. Nor was he less generous in honouring all Military Merit. For above Thirty Generals had perfect Triumphs, and many more had the " Triumphant Ornaments decreed them by his Appointment. And that the Senators Sons might be the sooner form'd to Publick Business, he allow'd them to assume the † Virile Gown and the Senator's Habit, and to have the Liberty of being present in the House, at one and the same Time. And if they apply'd themselves to Arms, he gave them not only a Tribune's Command in the Legions, but also a Prefect's

* They examin'd into the Behaviour of the Knights (or Horsemen) and whether they kept Horses handsome and fit for Service.

† Which were perform'd with all the Pomp of Procession in the most solemn Form.

** Instead of having a formal Triumph, the General was sometimes honour'd with the Triumphant Ornaments, viz. the Crown of Laurel, the Robe, the Sceptre, and a Statue.

†† A Habit they wore when they came to Age.

|| Prefect's of the Wings; which was the Post he generally assign'd them, that they might thereby have the better Opportunity of becoming acquainted with the Methods of a Camp. He made frequent Musters of the Horse, reviving the Solemnity of the *Transvectio* after it had been long disus'd, and suffer'd none to be taken by an Arrest, as they rode in the Procession, which had been commonly done; and such as were remarkable for Age or for any bodily Blemish, he permitted to send their Horses before them in their proper Rank, and to come up on Foot to answer to their Names. And afterwards he gave them leave, if they were above Five and thirty Years old, and did not care to continue longer in the Service, to resign their Horses and retire.

39. Having obtain'd of the Senate ten Assistants, he oblig'd every Knight to give an Account of his Life; animadverting on the Criminal by Penalties and Disgraces, and reprimanding a great many according to their particular Circumstances. His gentlest way of Reproof was by delivering them a leas'd * Table-Book, which they were to read to themselves immediately on the Spot; and some he branded, because they had taken up Money at a very low Interest, and put it out at an extravagant Rate.

40. At

|| The Wings consisted of Allies and Auxiliaries, who were commanded by a Prefect, as the Roman Soldiers were by a Tribune. Augustus made a Prefect's Post higher than a Tribune's, but Claudian afterwards chang'd it, and set a Tribune above a Prefect.

* A solemn Procession, in which the Knights cloath'd in the Robe call'd *Trabea*, and crown'd with *Olive*, rode on white Horses from the Temple of Honour to the Capital.

|| In which he wrote their Faults and Vices.

40. At the Election of Tribunes, if no † Senators stood, he chose them out of the Knights, whom he left free at the Expiration of the Office to continue in which || Degree they pleas'd. And when several of them, having wasted their Patrimony in the Civil Wars, did not dare to place themselves in the Knights Seats at the Publick Spectacles, for fear of being punish'd by the ** Laws of the Theatre, he decreed they shou'd not be subject to those Penalties if themselves, or their Parents, had ever been enroll'd in the Equestrian Order. He cess'd the People Street by Street; and that they might not be so often call'd off from their Business to attend the Publick Dole of Corn, he design'd to issue Tickets three times a Year for receiving it every four Months; but at their Instance he renew'd the former Custom of dealing it once a Month. He restor'd the antient † Rights of Assemblies; and having by various Penalties suppress'd the Corruption of buying

† No Man cou'd be chosen Tribune who was not a Senator, as was observ'd in the Note § 10.

|| In the Degree of Knights or of Senators.

** Beside being of Quality, it was requir'd that a Man shou'd have an Estate of such a Valuation to entitle him to a Place in the better Range of Seats; according to those Lines in Juvenal.

Exeat, inquit,
Si pudor est, & de pulvino surgat Equestri
Cujus res non legi sufficit. Sat. 3.

Pack hence, and from the cover'd Benches rise,
(The Master of the Ceremonies cries)
This is no Place for you, whose small Estate
Is not the Value of the settled Rate.

Mr. Dryden.

† Not the primitive Freedom of Elections, but those Rights which his Uncle Julius had constituted, and which were interrupted by the Civil Wars.

ing Voices at such a Time, he made a Present himself of a Thousand Sesterces a Man to the Members of his own Tribes, the || *Fabian* and *Scaptian*, on the Day of an Election, that they might not expect any Thing from the Candidates. It being also his Opinion, that to preserve the *Roman* People pure from all base Mixture of Foreign and Servile Blood, was a Point of great Importance; he granted the Liberty of the City very sparingly, and put certain Restrictions to the manumitting of Slaves. Thus *Tiberius* applying to him for a Client of his, a *Greek*, he wrote him back Word, *That he wou'd not allow it, unless he appear'd personally and convince'd him of the just Reason he had to make the Request.* And when *Livia* petition'd in behalf of a certain Tributary *Gaul*, he refus'd to make him a Citizen, but voluntarily offer'd to give him an Immunity from Taxes. declaring, *He wou'd sooner suffer his Treasury to be defrauded, than the Honour of the Roman City to be made Cheap and Common.* And not content with having prevented Slaves by many Difficulties from obtaining a Partial Freedom, and by greater from receiving a compleat Liberty, after he had ordain'd several nice Proviso's concerning the Number, the Condition, and the Distinctions of those who shou'd be manumitted; he also added, that no one who had ever been in Fetters, or had suffer'd the Torture, shou'd in Right of any kind of Liberty be admitted a Denizon of *Rome*. He was desirous to bring up the old † Habit; and observing once a Croud of People round the *Rostrum* dress'd in dark-colour'd Garments, he cry'd out, in a mighty Passion,

|| *Romanos*

|| *The Fabian Tribe was so call'd from the Fabii who belong'd to it, and the Scaptian from Scaptia a City of Latium. Augustus was of the first by his Adoption into the Julian Family, and of the other by his Birth.*

† *The Gown, which was of a pure White.*

|| *Romanus rerum Dominos, gentemq; togatam!*

See there, the Romans, who possess the Crown
Of the whole World, the Nation of the Gown!

And charg'd the Ediles from thenceforth to permit no Persons to sit in the Forum or the Circus, unless they had laid by their upper Clokes, and came only in their Gown.

41. He was liberal on many Occasions to Persons of every Order. For having brought home a Princely Treasure in his *Alexandrine* Triumph, it produc'd such a Plenty of Money, that Interest fell, and the Value of Lands was advanc'd considerably. And afterwards, when he had Sums to spare by a Confiscation of Goods, he lent them freely for a certain Time to such as were able to give double Security. He caus'd the Estate of a Senator to be set at a higher Valuation; and instead of Eight hundred thousand Sesterces, he rais'd it to Twelve hundred thousand, making up the Deficiency to them who fell short of that Rate. He gave frequent Bounties to the People, but generally the Sums were different, being

|| *This is a Verse of Virgil, Æneid 1. The Nation of the Gown is a Circumlocution for the Romans; that Habit being peculiar to them; in some Places of Italy it was only us'd about the Dead,*

*Pars magna Italiæ est (si verum admittimus) in qua
Nemo Togam sumit nisi mortuus. Juv. Sat. 3.*

*Some distant Parts of Italy are known,
Where none but only dead Men wear the Gown.*

Mr. Dryden.

2. The Theatres were open at the Top, and therefore some us'd to put on short dark-colour'd Clokes to secure themselves from the Injuries of the Weather.

being sometimes Four hundred, sometimes Three hundred, or Two hundred and fifty Sesterces; nor did he pass by the younger Boys, tho' it was not the Custom for them to receive any till they were Eleven Years old. In Times of a Scarcity he distributed Corn to them, Man by Man, often at a very small Price, and sometimes gratis, and caus'd the Money-Tickets to be doubled.

42. But that it might appear he was a Prince rather concern'd to procure Things necessary and convenient, than to incourage Luxury and Pomp, he told the People very severely, who were complaining of the Want and Dearthness of Wine, *His Son-in-Law, Agrippa, had made Provision enough by his Aqueducts for every Man to slake his Thirst.* And when they claim'd a Largess of him which he had promis'd them, he answer'd, *He was a Person of Credit and might be trusted:* And reproach'd them in an Edict with Baseness and Presumption for having demand'd one which he had never promis'd them; declaring he wou'd not let them have it now, tho' he had before intended to bestow it. And having signify'd once that he wou'd make such a Distribution, when he discover'd a great many were upon that purposely manumitted and inroll'd among the Citizens, with no less Strictness and Resolution he refus'd to admit those who were not included in his Promise, and gave less than he propos'd to the others, that the Money he had appropriated for this Service might be sufficient to afford every one a Share. In an extraordinary Dearth also, when they were at a Loss for Means to relieve it, having expell'd the Slaves, the Families of the Fencers, a Part of the domestick Servants, and all Foreigners, except Physicians and School-Masters, from the City; and the Season at length recovering, he writes that *He had a strong Inclination for ever to abolish the Publick Dales of Corn, because the Depending on those made the People neglect to till the Lands; but that he did not persist in his Design, because he was persuaded they wou'd be afterwards reviv'd*
by

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by *four ambitious Princes*. Wherefore he so order'd it, that the Husbandmen and Farmers shou'd at those Times be regarded equally with the Tradesmen of Rome.

43. He surpass'd all who went before him in the Frequency, the Variety and the Magnificence of Publick Shews. Four and twenty Times, he says, he exhibited Games on his own Account, and Three and twenty for other Magistrates, who were either absent or unable to bear the Expence. Sometimes he had them acted in every Street, with a great Number of Scenes, by Players of all Languages. Nor were they perform'd only in the Forum and the Amphitheater, but in the Circus also and the * *Sæpe*. And sometimes the Hunting of Wild Beasts was the sole Entertainment. The Wrestlers exercis'd in the *Campus Martius*, where wooden Seats were erected; and in the Field by the *Tiber*, where the *Cæsars* Grove now stands, a spacious Channel was open'd, upon which was represented a Naval Fight. At such Times he planted Guards in the City, lest by the Fewness of those who were left at Home, it shou'd be expos'd to the Insults of Plunderers. In the Circus he produc'd Race Chariots, Runners, and Slay-ers of Wild Beasts, and sometimes the Champions were young Noble Men of the first Quality. But he celebrated the † *Trojan* Exercise oftner than any, with a select Band of less and greater Boys; esteem-
ing it to be an antient and honourable Custom, for the Youth of any illustrious Line thus to signalize themselves. *C. Ninius Asprenates* being maim'd by a Fall, he presented him with a Golden Chain, and allow'd

* *Inclasures in the Campus Martius, in which the People were pull'd at an Elaffim.*

† *A military Exercise perform'd by Boys on Horseback. It had its Name and Original from Alcanius; thus Lead-
ing up the Trojan Youth at the Funeral Games for Anchis-
es. See it beautifully described by Virgil, Æn. 5.*

allow'd him and his Posterity to bear the Sirname of * *Torquatus*. But he afterwards laid down these Diversions, *Asinius Pollex*, the Orator, exclaiming furiously upon the Mischance of his Grandson *Afernius*, who broke his Thigh by a Fall. He sometimes employ'd Roman Knights to act in the Scene, and to perform as Gladiators; but this was before the † Decree of the Senate which forbade it; after which he never brought any on the Stage, beside *Lucius*, a Youth of noble Birth, whom he produc'd as a great Curiosity; for tho' he was no more than two Foot high, he weigh'd Seventeen Pounds, and had a Voice like Thunder. At one of the Shews he led the *Partbian* Hostages, who were the first that were sent, across the Stage to shew them to the People, and plac'd them above himself in the Second Row of Boxes. And beside the Days of the customary Spectacles, if any thing wonderful and unusual arriv'd in Rome, he us'd to make a Sight of it in some publick Place. Thus he shew'd a Rhinoceros in the *Septa*, a Tiger in the Theatre, and a Snake Fifty Cubits long in the Courts of Assemblies. Being suddenly taken ill as he was performing the Circensian Games, in Virtue of a Vow he had made, he laid himself along in his Litter, and so follow'd the Sacred † Chariots in the Procession. And as he celebrated the Sports for the Dedication of *Marcellus's* Temple, the Joints of his Curule Chair starting, threw him backward on the Ground. His Grand-Children also presenting a Play, when the People were in a Consternation lest the House shou'd tumble upon them, and he cou'd by no means appease them, he rose up and went

* From *Torques*, a Chain.

† Augustus himself procur'd this Decree to be pass'd, to restrain the Indecencies of the Knights and the Ladies of Quality, who wou'd often perform in Publick on the Stage.

‡ The *Thensa*, mention'd Page 45.

went and sat down in that Part of the Theatre which was most suspected.

44. He regulated the Manner of beholding the Publick Shews, which was become very disorderly. That which provok'd him to it, was the Indignity a Senator suffer'd, who coming in at the famous Games at *Patuli*, among a crowd'd Audience, no Man dur'd to give him Room. Upon this the Fathers made a Decree, that in all Publick Spectacles the first Gallery shou'd be reserv'd for the Senators. He forbid Ambassadors at *Rome*, tho' of Nations free and in Alliance, to sit in the *Orchestra*, having observ'd several of them to be only manumitted Slaves. He also parted the † Soldiers from the People, and assign'd a particular Quarter to the marry'd Men of the Commons; and dispos'd the Seats of the young Noble-Men into the Form of a Wedge, next to whom were the *Tuturi*; and order'd that none with a fully'd Garment shou'd come.

|| The Seats in the Roman Theatre were divided into three Orders; of which the *Orchestra* was the first, and belong'd to the Senators; the second was the *Equettia*, which was reserv'd to the Knights; and the *Popularia* was the third, in which sat the Common People. We are not to understand that Augustus, by this Regulation, added any new Ranges of Seats, but only that he made several Partitions in each Order.

† Perhaps Augustus intended it as an Honour to the Soldiers to part them from the Common People; for by their Profession they were of a superior Rank, as appears by what is observ'd in the Note, pag. 41.

* The Romans us'd to come to the Publick Games in their Gowns very clean and white, but some began now to be more negligent, and wore either Gowns all soil'd and dirty, or a kind of short upper Cloak, which was of the natural Colour of the Wool, or of a dark fustian Hue.

came into the Pit: He permitted not the 11 Women to behold the Gladiators, as they were wont to do, promiscuously, but oblig'd them to sit by themselves in an upper Gallery; and appointed the Vestal Virgins a separate Place in the Theatre, over against the Pretor's Seat. He utterly excluded the Female Sex from the Sight of the Wrestlers; and therefore in his 11 Pontifical Games, he put off the Performance of a couple of celebrated Champions, on the next Morning, and signify'd, it was his Pleasure that no Woman should enter the Theatre before the 15th June.

He generally beheld the Circense Sports from the Apartments of his Friends and Freedmen, and

He thought it more convenient and more fit for the women to sit regularly, and apart from the Men; and by no means became the softer Sex to be at all present at so barbarous and bloody a Sight. But in Juvenal's Time the Women were so shameless, that they turn'd Gladiators themselves, and fought in Publick.

Adspiciat quo femina monstratos perferat istos,

Et quanto galea curvatur pondere; quam

Poplicibus sedet, quam densa sista libro!

Sat. 6.

Behold the sporting Amazonian Whore,

She stands in Guard with her right Paw before:

Her Coats are drest, and all her Limbs are just;

She jumps, and then cries ha! at ev'ry Thrust.

Mr. Dryden.

11 Games which Augustus presented at his entering on the High-Pontifical.

11 He forbid the Women to come into the Theatre till after the Time when these Champions perform'd, because they might be seduced.

Eleven in the Morning.

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and sometimes from the † Place reserv'd for the Images of the Gods, where he sat with his Wife and Children. He would be absent from the Shews for several Hours, and sometimes whole Days, having first ask'd the Permission of the Assembly, and nominated some to ‡ preside in his Stead, and give the necessary Directions. But when he was present, he attended entirely to the Diversions; either to avoid the popular Reflection which he remembered was cast upon his Father *Cæsar*, that while the the Games were acting, he employ'd himself in reading Letters and Addresses, and framing Answers to them, or from the wonderful Delight he took in those Entertainments, which he always ingenuously own'd gave him exceeding Pleasure. Hence he frequently bestow'd Coronets and very valuable Rewards of his own at the Spectacles which were exhibited by others; and was never present at any * Grecian Exercise where he did not honour every one of the Combatants according to his Merit. But he was particularly fond of seeing the Game of the Whorlbat, especially by Latin Champions, not only when they were Fellows regularly train'd up to the Play, whom he wou'd at any time fight against the Grecians, but also when it was a promiscuous Multitude of Townsmen fighting rudely at

F 2

† A Place in the Theatre; where the Images were repos'd on fine Couches. Augustus out of Veneration to the Gods, wou'd not lie down among them, but sat; tho' Nero afterwards made himself their Equal, and lodg'd with them familiarly on the Sacred Bed, as one of the Number.

‡ The Emperors govern'd the Publick Shews, and order'd what Champions, and what Number of Combatants shou'd be brought on, &c.

* An Exercise either perform'd by Grecians or of a Grecian Original, or perhaps both. For the Grecians were generally more expert than the Latins at several Games which the Romans borrow'd from Greece.

all Adventures, without Skill, in the narrow Turnings of the Streets. In a word, he took notice of all sorts of Persons any way belonging to the Publick Spectacles, and vouchsaf'd to have them under his Care. He confirm'd their Privileges to the Wrestlers, and enlarg'd them; and prohibited any to present a Scene of Gladiators in which the † Combatants were not allow'd to have Quarter. The Magistrates Power of punishing the Players, which was by the old Law extended to all Times and Places, he abolish'd; and confin'd it to the Stage and the time of Acting. Yet he put both the Wrestlers and the Gladiators under as strict a Regulation in performing their several Exercises; and restrain'd the Licentiousness of the Players so far, that understanding *Stephanie*, a Comedian, kept a Matron to wait upon him, with her Hair crop'd short round her Head, in the Habit of a Boy, he caus'd him to be whip'd thro' three Theaters, and then banish'd him; and scourg'd *Hyler*, the "Pantomime, at the Complaint of the Pretor, in the Court-yard of his own House, with the Doors open to admit all

† The Gladiator who was fail'd, humbly beg'd his Life of the People, and if they allow'd his Suit he was sav'd, if not, his Antagonist slew him on the Spot. The People seldom declar'd in his Favour, but took a cruel Pleasure in seeing him put to the Sword, and in Token of Death bent their Thumbs backward.

—————verso pollice vulgi
Quemlibet occidunt populariter. *Juv. Sat. 3.*

Where inspir'd by the Robble's bloody Will,
With Thumbs bent back they popularly kill.

Ab. Dryden.

" A Player who represented any Story in Dumb Shew by Gestures.

all Comers; and proscrib'd *Pylades* both the City and *Italy*, because he had pointed at a Spectator who hiss'd him, with his Finger, and singled him out to the whole Assembly.

46. Having thus settled the City and the Affairs of it, he sent out Eight and twenty Colonies to re-people *Italy*, and greatly enrich'd it with Buildings and Commerce; and in some Respects made it equal to *Rome* in Privileges and Dignity, inventing a new Way by which the Inhabitants might give their † Suffrages for chusing Magistrates at *Rome*; for the Head of each Colony was order'd to collect the Voices of his own Division, and send them seal'd to *Rome* against the Day of the Election. And that a Number of Persons of Rank might never be wanting, nor the Race of the meaner People decay, he admitted into the Class of Knights Military such as desir'd it, at the publick Recommendation even of any Town; and those of the common People who brought to him in his Progress thro' the †† Regions of *Italy*, a lawful Offspring of Sons or Daughters, he presented with a Thousand Sesterces spiece for every Child.

47. The more potent Provinces, which cou'd neither with Ease nor Safety be under the Command of Yearly Magistrates, he reserv'd to his own Government, and assign'd the rest to Proconsuls by Lot, sometimes interchanging them, and often taking a Progress both into these and into those immediately under himself. Some Cities which were indeed Confederate, but were on the Point of making a pernicious Use of their Liberty, he depriv'd of it, and reliev'd others which were deeply in Debt, rebuilding several that were overthrown by Earthquakes; and such as pleaded their Merits towards the *Romans* he endow'd with the Privileges of

F 3

Latinæ

† To save them the Trouble and Expence of making a Journey to *Rome* upon such Occasions.

†† Augustus divided *Italy* into Eleven Regions.

Latina, or the Freedom of the City. There is not a Province, I believe, where he had not been in Person, excepting only *Africa* and *Sardinia*. And as he was preparing to pass thither from *Sicily*, after the Defeat of *Sextus Pompeius*, he was prevented by continual and furious Storms, and had never afterwards any Occasion or Opportunity to visit those Parts.

48. He either restor'd the Kingdoms, which he held by Right of Conquest, except a few, to the same Possessors from whom he had taken them, or confer'd them on Strangers. The Kings who were in Alliance with him he united to each other by mutual Friendship, which he was always very ready to cultivate between them, making it his Concern to do good Offices to them as common Members and Parts of the Empire. To Minors and Lunatics he appointed Guardians, till they should come to Age or recover their Understanding, and educated the Children of a great many together with his own.

49. The Legions and Auxiliaries of his Forces, he divided into the Provinces, and appointed a Fleet to lie at *Misenum* and *Avellanum* for the Defence of the † upper and lower Seas, and chose out a certain Number of Men, partly for the Protection of the City, and partly of his Person, discharging the †† *Calaguritan* Band and the *Coma*, the first of which he had kept about him for a Guard till *Antony's* Defeat, and the last till the Overthrow of *Pompey*. Yet he never suffer'd above Three Cohorts to be in the City, nor did he permit these to make an Encampment there, and the rest he us'd to quarter both

† The Adriatick and Tuscan Sea.

†† The *Calaguritanes* were a People of Spain, belonging to the City *Calaguris* which stood on the Iber (now the *Ebro*). *Augustus* disband'd his Guard of Spaniards with better Success than his Uncle *Julius* had done before him, who was kill'd shortly after he disband'd them.

both in Winter and Summer in the Frontier Towns. He restrain'd also the Soldiers, where-ever they were, to a settled Rate both for their Pay and their Rewards, and determin'd the Time of their Serving, and the Premium they were to receive at their Dismission, according to every one's Degree, lest their Age or Necessities shou'd put them upon raising Disturbances after they were releas'd. And that he might always have a Fund to subsist them, and answer all their Occasions without any Difficulty, he instituted a Military Treasury with a Revenue appropriated to it. In Order to have whatever pass'd immediately convey'd to him without Delay, he posted Young Men at convenient Distances on the Roads where the Soldiers were quarter'd, and afterwards set up Carriages to come quite thro', which seem'd more expedient; because then, if the Affair requir'd it, the same Persons who brought the Letters directly from any Place, might also be personally examin'd.

50. In sealing his Commissions, Orders and Letters, he at first us'd the Figure of a * Sphinx, and afterwards the Image of *Alexander the Great*, and lastly his own, engrav'd by *Discordides*; and the succeeding 11 Princes continu'd to use the same. He express'd in all his Letters the Minute of the Hour, both of the Day and Night, in which they were dat'd.

51. The Proofs of his Clemency and Gentleness are many and great. For, not to repeat how many of the Enemy's Party, or who they were, whom having given them Pardon and Protection he permitted to hold the chief Places in the City, he was contented to punish *Junius Brutus* and *Cassius Bati-*

F 4

* A Monster, which had a Woman's Face, the Wings of a Bird, a Lion's Claws, and the other Parts like a Dog.
† *Augustus Galba*; for he us'd the Seal of his Ancestor, which was, a Dog looking out as the Stern of a Ship.

view, both of the Common People, one only with a Fine, and the other with a light Exile; the first having publish'd a severe Letter against him in the Name of young Agrippa, and the other declar'd at a full Table, *He wanted neither Will nor Resolution to stab him.* And once in open Court *Emilius Alienus Cordubensis*, among other Crimes, was charg'd in particular with having vilify'd *Augustus*, who turning to the Accuser, *I wish*, said he in a seeming Passion, *thou couldest prove this, for I wou'd then make Alienus perceive I also have a Tongue, and coul'd say more of him.* And neither at this time nor afterwards did he enquire farther into the Matter. *Tiberius* complaining violently to him about it in a Letter, he wrote him back Word, *I desire, my Tiberius, you wou'd not indulge the impetuous Resentments of Youth in this Particular, nor be so extremely provok'd at any one's speaking ill of us. It is sufficient if we have this Advantage, that it is not in the Power of any to do us Harm.*

52. Tho' he knew it was customary to decree Temples even to the Proconsuls, yet he never accepted of this Honour in any Province; but when the Inscription was directed in common to himself and Rome, and in the City he always inflexibly refus'd it. He also melted down the Silver Statues which had been formerly erected to him, and out of the Sale of them dedicated several Golden Tripods to *Minerva*. And when the People press'd the Dictatorship upon him very warmly, he kneel'd down, and throwing off his Gown from his Shoulders, presented

The principal Part of this Self-Denial of *Augustus* consists in his not admitting the Romans to erect him a Temple in the City, and accepting the Honour only from the People in the Provinces, which was no such extraordinary Dignity, for as the Romans thought of themselves with the highest Vanity, according to the proud Expression of *Florus*, who styles them *Princeps Populus*, so they had a very mean Opinion of other Nations.

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stated his Refusal to them bare, and declin'd the Offer.

The Appellation of † LORD he always abhor'd as extravagant and shameful. And when one of the Actors, as he was at the Play, spoke these Words upon the Stage, O just and gracious Lord, and all the People applauded it as if meant of him, he immediately check'd their indecent Adulation by the Motion of his Hand and by his Looks, and the next Day severely reprov'd them in an Edict, and wou'd never permit himself to be styl'd LORD, even by his Children or Grand-Children, either seriously or in jest, forbidding them also to use such fulsome Titles among themselves. He seldom enter'd any City or Town, or went out of it, but in the Evening or by Night, lest he shou'd put any one to the Trouble of paying him the Forms of Respect. In his Consulship he generally walk'd on Foot, and afterwards was often carry'd abroad in an open Chair. He admitted the Common People to make their Salutations to him promiscuously with those of Condition, and receiv'd the Addresses of all in so affable a Manner, that he facetiously play'd upon * one, and told him, he shou'd give him his Paper, just as if he were giving a Farthing to an Elephant. The Days when the Senate assembled, he always saluted the Fathers in Court, and as they

had nam'd good Counsels, were

* By this Gesture he signify'd he had rather they wou'd take his Life than oblige him to accept the Dictatorship; for Augustus prudently remember'd how odious it had render'd his Uncle, and how much it contributed to his Ruine.

† He thought it a Title too sublime and great: Relying his Fearfulness and Hesitation in presenting his Petition.

were sitting, and every one by Name, without a Prompter; and at his going out he took Leave of them in the same Manner. He readily put the common Forms of Respect and Civility, upon all ordinary Occasions in private Life, to several Persons, and continu'd obligingly to give them his Company at their Festivals and Entertainments, till he was advanced in Years. And once amid the Croud of People at a certain Musical, with which he was newly tir'd, he made such an Impression by his kind and tender Persuasions upon Gales Strider, a Senator, but little known to him, who had suddenly lost his Sight, and therefore intended to starve himself to Death, that he prevail'd with him to resolve to live.

As he was speaking in the Senate, some body answer'd him, *I don't understand you*; and another turn'd upon him, *If I understand in Power, I won't understand you*. And when he was striking out of the House one Day in a Passion, because of their intemperate Heats and Wranglings, some of them told him directly, *That the Senators ought to have the Privilege of speaking freely upon the Affairs of the Common Wealth*. Another told, at an Election of Senators, where every one chose his Man, made choice of Lepidus, who was formerly Agrippa's Enemy, and was then an Exile, and being ask'd by him, *Whether there were not others more deserving?* He answer'd, *Every Man had the Liberty of his own Opinion*.

55. Yet no one's Freedom or Arrogance became a Snare to him, or did him a Prejudice; and when several scandalous Lampoons upon himself were spread thro' the Court, he was neither alarm'd at them, nor very solicitous to answer them; nor did he inquire after the Authors, but only ordain'd that for the future all Persons shou'd be call'd to Account, who in their own or a seditious Name, publish'd Libels or defamatory Verses upon any Man.

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109d. The invidious and petulant Jests which some made upon him, provok'd him no further than to reply to them in an Edict: And he intreated with the Senate not to prohibit the Licence People generally took in their Wills. Whenever he was at an Election, he went round the Tribes with the Candidates for whom he appear'd, and entreated the Members Voice in the usual Manner; and gave his Vote in his own Tribe like one of the common Citizens. He suffer'd himself with great Temper to be examined as a Witness in Courts of Justice, and to be refused in his Evidence. He streighten'd his Forum which he erected, in Compassy, because he cou'd not bring himself to force the Owners of the neighbouring Houses to give up their Possessions. He never recommended his Sons to the People, but he said, *if they shall deserve it*, and express'd a wonderful Uneasiness when the whole Assembly rose up to them, not being yet of Age, and clap'd them standing. He delighted to have his Friends very great and powerful in the City, yet so as that they shou'd be under the same Restraints with others, and equally subject to the Laws. Accordingly when *Spurius Murena*, who was very dear to him, was accus'd of Poysoning by *Cassius Severus*, he consulted the Senate how it wou'd become him to act in that Affair: For he was afraid, he said, *if he appear'd at the Trial, he shou'd shew a Criminal from the Laws; and if he were absent, that he shou'd be thought to desert and forsake his Friend*. And, when they had all consented

10

* The Romans took the Liberty in their last Testaments of cursing and condemning any Person they pleas'd, and putting no more bounds.

† The Audience by this Ceremony, paid them the highest Respect and applause; and the Reflection of Tacitus is very just, who says, Augustus was displeas'd at it, because too early Honours are apt to puff up the weak Minds of Youth, and fill them with Vanity and Pride.

to it, he sat down for some Hours upon the lower Benches, but without speaking a Word, or offering any Evidence in his Favour. He always supported his Dependents, as he did a certain *|| Senator*, one of his Veterans, who was under an Accusation of Slender. Out of all the Numbers of Criminals he interpos'd to save only one, namely *Cornelius*, by whose Means he discover'd the Conspiracy at *Adams*; and even him he deliver'd merely by Intercession, having prevail'd on his Accuser himself, in the Presence of the Judges, to desist and withdraw the Suit.

57. How extremely he was belov'd for these beautiful Qualities may be easily conceiv'd. I omit the Decrees of the Senate, which may seem to have proceeded from Constraint or from Complaisance. Of their own accord, the Roman Knights always celebrated his Birth, by a general Contest, for two Days together. And all Orders threw a Piece of Money into *Cornelius's* Lake every Year, in a Vow, for his Health. They also offer'd, even in his Absence, a New-Year's Gift in the Capitol, upon the *† Kalends of January*, with the Sum arising from which Offerings, he purchas'd and dedicated very costly Images

i. e. upon the common Seat where the Criminal, and those who appear'd for him, us'd to be plac'd.

II A Military Title, answering to that of Esquire with us, which was originally a Term of Martial Dignity.

A superstitious Rite; design'd, perhaps, as a Tribute to the Infernal Gods, to spare *Augustus*. This Lake was nam'd from *Cornelius*, who when the Ground seiz'd there widely for several Days, arm'd himself completely, and appearing on the shore, precipitated himself into the Gulf, as a Sacrifice to the Manes, upon which it immediately

† January 1st.

of the Gods in several Parts of the City, as of *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Mercury*, and *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and others. The Veterans, the *Decuriones*, the Tribes, and even Persons of every Rank, made a voluntary Contribution, according to their Ability, to the Re-building his House on *Palatine Mount*, which was consum'd by Fire. But he accepted only a small Portion out of the House which were advanc'd him, not suffering any Man to go beyond a *Denarius*. As he return'd from any of the Provinces they receiv'd him not only with Good Wishes but with Publick Songs. And whenever he enter'd the City, it became a Custom, on that Day, not to punish any Offender.

§8. The Title of *Pater Patrie*, Father of his Country, was confer'd on him by the ready and most unanimous Consent of all Degrees. The Commons began in, sending a solemn Deputation with it to him at *Antium*; and because he did not accept it, they gave it him in a full Body, with *Laurels* on their Heads, as he open'd the Publick Games at *Rome*; and it was confer'd upon him afterwards in the Senate; not by a Decree, nor by *Acclamation*, but by *Valerius Messalla*

¶ Call'd so from the Quarter where the Image stood, which was inhabited by those who made Sandals or sold them.

Because the *Tragicæ* dwell in that Street.

¶ A Body of ten Men; three of which made a *Turma* or Troop of the Roman Cavalry.

Seven *Prætor* Horses.

¶ They dress'd themselves in this Triumphant Manner to express the Respect and Gladness with which they offer'd him that Title.

¶ When the Senators rose and all at once declar'd for any Resolution. But as this was done tumultuously in a Heat, they chose to send a Message, which shew'd the sober and deliberate Sense of the House.

OCTAVIUS CAESAR AUGUSTUS. 111

the Republick in Rome and War. I shall now relate
his domestic and private Life, and show how he
behav'd at home among his Relations. From his
Youth on the left Mother when he arriv'd. He
lost his Mother in his first Consulate, and his Sister
Octavia in the fifty fourth Year of his Age. And
as he perform'd all Offices of Duty and Affection to
them when living. So when they were dead he paid
them the highest Honours and publick Burials.
In his Youth he was contriv'd to be the Daugh-
ter of P. Junius Brutus, but being oppos'd to
that of one about his Disposition, and the Troops
of each General pressing to have some intimate Alli-
ance form'd between them, he marry'd Anthony's
Daughter in Law, Claudia, who was the Daughter of
Julius by P. Clodius, and was then scarcely of a mar-
riageable Age. But a Misunderstanding arising be-
tween him and Claudia's Mother, he return'd her
Daughter to her a perfect Virgin. After this he
took Sulpicia, who had been marry'd to two Consul-
lar Men, and was a Mother by one. Her also he di-
vorc'd, not being able, as he writes, to support her
perverseness and troublesome Temper; and immediately
slew away Livia Drusilla from her Husband Tibullus
also, tho' she was then big with Child, and her he
continued to love without Alteration.
By Sulpicia he had Julia, but he had no Chil-
dren by Livia, tho' he passionately wish'd it. For
the *Lacus*, with which she had once conceiv'd, prov'd
an Abortion. He marry'd Julia first to Marcellus, his
Sister Octavia's Son, who was under Age; and upon
his Death, he gave her to M. Agrippa, having pre-
vail'd with his Sister to resign her Son-in-Law to
him. For Agrippa was at that time marry'd to one
of Octavia's Daughters, and had Children by her.
He also dying, Agrippa had several of the Equestrian
Order in his Thoughts, and after long Deliberation
at last chose Tibullus to be his Son-in-Law; constrain-
ing him to dismiss his Wife, who was pregnant,
and by whom he was already a Father. M. Anthony
writes,

64. He had Three Grand-Sons by Agrippa and Julia, to wit, Caius, Lucius and Agrippa, and Two Grand-Daughters, Julia and Agrippina. Julia he marry'd to L. Pius, the Son of the Consul, and Agrippina to his Sister's Grandson Germanicus. Caius and Lucius he adopted into his Family, having bought them of their Father Agrippa for a certain Weight of Money, and introduc'd them very young in Affairs of State, and employ'd them, when they were Consuls Elect, to visit the Provinces, and to review the Forces. He bred up his Daughter and Grand-Daughters in so strict a manner, that he even oblig'd them to work at the Loom, and forbade them to speak or do any thing but in Publick, and what was fit to be inserted in the Diurnal Register. He prohibited them the Company of Strangers so rigidly, that he wrote Word to L. Titinius, a graceful and well born Youth, that He had refus'd very humbly in coming to pay his Daughter a Visit or Baine. He instructed his Grand-Sons himself, both in Letters and the Art of Swimming, and in other Rudiments of Learning; and took Pains with them in nothing so much, as in teaching them to imitate his Hand. He never supp'd

* The common Form of Adoption among the Romans. For the People's Consent to the Adoption being obtain'd, the Father was ask'd before proper Witnesses, whether he would transfer all his Paternal Rights and Powers to the Adopter, and upon his consenting, a Partition of Money was weigh'd out to him in a Balance, as the Purchase of his Child.

† A Book of private Minutes, in which Augustus caus'd the Occurrences of the Family to be enter'd.

‡ Among other Parts of a liberal Education with the Romans and Athenians, the Youth were taught to swim; which occasion'd the known Proverb Nec literas didicit, nec natat, He has neither learn'd to read nor to swim.

but he had them plac'd at the lower End of the † Couch, nor made a Journey, but they were carry'd before him in a Chariot, or rode beside him on Horseback.

65. But tho' he pleas'd himself wonderfully with the Prospect of being happy in his Posterity, from the Exactness of the Discipline which he observ'd, Fortune deceiv'd his Expectation. For the Julia's were so scandalously lewd, that he banish'd them; and he lost † Caius and Lucius in the Space of Eighteen Months; Caius dying at Lyons, and Lucius at *Marseilles*. Upon which he adopted his Third Grand-Son, *Agrippa*, and with him his Son-in-Law *Tiberius*, in the Forum, according to the x Popular Form. Of these he in a short Time rejected *Agrippa*, for his fierce and turbulent Genius, and confin'd him to * *Surrexitum*. He bore the Death of his Children more patiently than their infamous Manners. For at the Loss of Caius and Lucius he was not extremely dejected, but the Misfortune of his Daughter touch'd him so deeply, that he broke the Affair to the Senate in a Letter, which was read to them in his Absence by the Quæstor, and saw no Company for a long

† The Antients at Table lay sideways on a Couch; but the Women sat and the Children; for Lying was thought too immodest a Posture for the first, and too soft and indulgent for the others.

‡ It was suspected they were poison'd by Livia and Tiberius.

x *Lege Curiatâ*, The Votes of the People being collected from Ward to Ward. For unless their Consent was first obtain'd, no Freeman, who was a Master of a Family, could be adopted by another; because every Citizen was look'd upon as the Property of the Republick.

* *A City of Campania.*

long while, out of very Confusion and Shame, and even had it under Deliberation to put her to Death. And one of her Confidants, *Phoebe* by Name, hanging herself about the same Time, *He* had rather, he said, *have been the Father of Phoebe than of Julia*. In her Banishment he deny'd her the Use of Wine, and all sumptuous Apparel; nor suffer'd any Freeman or Slave to come near her, without having first apply'd to him for Leave, that so he might observe his particular Age, Stature and Complexion, and even the Marks or Scars of his Body. At the End of Five Years he remov'd her from the Island to the Continent, and treated her somewhat more gently; but could never be prevail'd on to restore her entirely; and when the People several times interceded for her very importunately, he told them, *He wish'd they had all such Daughters and such Wives*. He forbid the Child which was born of *Julia* after her Condemnation, to be own'd or brought up. And *Agrippa*, who was as untractable as ever, and grew more extravagant every Day, he transported into an Island, and put him under a Guard of Soldiers, and provided by a Decree of the Senate, that he shou'd remain there for ever. And sighing always at the Mention of him and of the *Julia's*, he us'd to cry out,

* Αἰδ' ὅτελον ἀγαμέ, τ' ἰδύω, ἀγῶς τ' ἀπαίδου.

Wou'd Heav'n I ne'er the Marriage State had try'd,
Or without Progeny at last had dy'd!

Nor did he call them any thing but *His Three Injustices*, or *His Three Centers*.

66. He was slow in admitting Friendships, and very constant in preserving them when once contracted; not only esteeming the Virtues and Merits of a Friend, but even bearing with his Faults and Vices

* *Homer, Iliad. 3.*

Vices if they were not extream. For we shall find scarcely any of all the Number fell into Disgrace with him, except *Salvidienus Rufus* and *Cornelius Gallus*: The first of whom he had rais'd to the Consulship, and the other to the Government of *Egypt*, from the meanest Condition. *Rufus*, who was projecting some dangerous Designs, he deliver'd up to the Senate to be sentenc'd; and for his Ingratitude and malicious Intentions, forbad *Gallus* both his House and his Provinces; and when he was so push'd at by the Depositions of his Accusers, and the Decrees of the Senate, that he laid violent Hands on himself, *Augustus* commended the Zeal they had express'd on his Account, but bursting into Tears, lamented his own Condition, *That he alone cou'd not be as angry with his Friends, as he thought fit.* The rest continu'd flourishing in Power and Riches at the Head of their several Orders, to the End of their Lives, tho' they did not altogether escape his Reproof. For sometimes, to mention no other Instances, he wish'd *Agrippa* had been Master of more Patience, and *Mecenas* of greater Taciturnity; the first upon the Suspicion of a Slight, and of *Marcellus's* being preferr'd before him, having hung up all, and retir'd to *Mitylene*; and the last imparted the Secret concerning the Discovery of the Conspiracy at *Marena*, to his Wife *Terenia*. He expected also that his Friends shou'd shew a mutual Affection to him, as well after their Death, as when they were living. And tho' he was far from coveting Inheritances, (for if any thing was left him by the Will of an unknown Person, he

To upon this Gallus that Virgil wrote his Tenth Pastoral. But *Augustus* being inform'd of this, said, *The meaning is, that he cou'd not bear a Displeasure at the withdrawing of his Friends, but the People also ran upon them with so much Violence, as hurly'd them to such Fatal Extremities.*

wou'd never accept it) yet he strictly ponder'd the last Judgments of his Friends express'd in their Wills, and dissembled not his Concern if they mention'd him there lightly, or in a dishonourable Manner; nor his Joy, if they treated him respectfully and with Kindness. The Legacies or Possessions which were devis'd him by any Parents, he restor'd to their Children immediately, or, if they were under Age, upon the Day of their putting on the Gown of Manhood, or at their Marriage, with a handsome Addition of his own.

67. As he was an easy and gentle Master to his Domesticks, so upon some Occasions he was as severe. For he prefer'd several of his Freed-Men, as *Licinius*, *Eleonardus*, and others; and made frequent Use of their Service. And when *Cassius*, his Slave, had impudently reflected on him, he only laid him in Irons; and chose to accuse his Steward *Dionides* rather of Cowardise, than of a Crime, when a Wild Boar bolting out suddenly upon them, as they were walking together, he push'd his Lord forward upon the Beast, turning a Matter of the utmost Danger into a Jest, because it was not done with a treacherous Design. Yet he put to Death *Prætor*, his Favorite Freed-Man, because he was discover'd to have corrupted several Matrons; and broke the Legs of his *Amanuensis Thallus*, for accepting Five Hundred Denaries to betray one of his Letters. And the Preceptor and Servants of his Son *Caius*, taking the Opportunity of his Sickness and Death to carry themselves insolently, and to pillage and oppress his Province, he caus'd great Weights to be ty'd to their Necks, and had them thrown into the River.

68. In his Youth he labour'd under an infamous Character for several Actions of Lewdness. *Pompey* charg'd him with being effeminate, and *M. Anthony* told him he had purchas'd his Adoption of his Uncle by becoming his Prostitute. And *Lucius*, the Brother of *Marcus*, affirm'd, that he was deflow'd by

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by *Cæsar*, and that he let himself out to * *Hirtius* in Spain for Three hundred thousand Sesterces, and us'd to singe his Thighs with Nut-Shells, to make the Hairs come up the softer. And the whole Body of the People one Day at the Games, with vast Acclamations, apply'd in his Disgrace a Verse spoken on the Stage concerning a Priest of *Cybele* beating his Tabor.

† *Vide fuit ut Cinadus orbem digito temperet?*

See how the *Patrick*, with his Finger, still Commands th' obsequious Orb and tempers at his Will?

69. That he was guilty of Adulteries, even his Friends do not deny; but they pretend in his Excuse it was not to gratify his Lust, but out of Reasons of State, that he might discover the Counsels of his Enemies by their Wives. And *M. Anthony*, beside his hasty Marriage with *Lucia*, takes him with taking a Consular Woman from Table and leading her out before her Husband's Face into his Chamber, returning her afterwards to the Company with glowing Ears, and her Hair all disorder'd; that he put away *Scribonia*, because she resented the extravagant Power of one his Concubines; and that he employ'd his Friends to search after Matrons and Virgins, and survey them naked, and to drive the Bargain for them in as shameless a manner as the common

* The same *Hirtius* whom Augustus was suspected to have murder'd. See Page 65.

† The Priests of *Cybele* were castrated, and prostituted themselves. The Verse may signify that the Priest, who was a *Cotamite*, play'd on the Tabor (*Orbis*) with his Finger, or that Augustus was a *Patrick*, and command'd the World at his Pleasure. The first is the direct Meaning, and the People apply'd it in the latter.

IN THE LIFE of

upon Pliny the Younger. And while there was yet no direct Breach between them, *Autobius* treats him thus familiarly in a Letter; I wonder in my heart what he chang'd your Mind? Is it that I do in it the same? Supposing I do, is that a new Thing, or have I not done it these Nine Years? May do you wish Drusilla my Sister to help you, as after you have read my Letter, you are not concern'd with Tertulla, or Terentilla, or Rosilla, or Salvia Titiscenia, or all of them. And what does it signify where and with whom you practice?

70. A secret Supper of his, vulgarly call'd *Autobius's*, The Banquet of the Twelve Gods, was also very much talk'd of. That the Guests appear'd in the Habit of Gods and Goddesses, and he was dress'd up to personate *Apoll*, is charg'd upon them not only in *Autobius's* Letter, where all their Names are mention'd very satirically, but also in these anonymous Verses;

*Cum primis istis in convivio mensis horumque
Sanguis Deus videt Malis, Sanguis Deus
Iupia dum Phœbi Caesar mendacia ludit,
Dum verum, dixerunt cuncti adulteris,
Omnia se à terribis minime Ausiliantur:
Fugit & puerum Iupiter ipse thronum.*

† Six Gods and Goddesses the Banquet grace,
And at the Table take their proper Place;
There, while bold Caesar plays *Apoll's* Part,
And sets th' Adulteries of the Sky with Art,
Abash'd such impious Spectacles to view,
Th' offended Deities in haste withdrew,
And from his Golden Throne *Jove* in Amazement flew.

This

Cleopatra.
† At the Satire of these Lines is particularly aim'd at Augustus, the Meaning is, that he acted over the Adulteries of the Gods in so lewd and impious a Manner, that the mock Deities, his Guests, were put out of Countenance, and left the Table.

OCTAVIUS CESAR AUGUSTUS. 119

This Entertainment made the greater Noise, because at that time there was an extreme Scarcity in the City; and it was given out, the next Day, that the Gods had put up all the City, and that Caesar was indeed become Apollo, but it was Apollo the Terminus; for Apollo was worshipp'd by that Name in one part of the City. He was accus'd of being extravagantly fond of rich Furniture and † Corinthian Vessels, and of Gaming without Moderation. For even when the Prescription was on foot, some body wrote upon his Statue, *Pater Argentarius, Ego Corinthiarum: My Father deals in Silver, I deal in Corinthian Ware*; because it was believ'd he had put some into the Prescription for the sake of their Corinthian Vessels. And in the Italian War there was publish'd this Epigram.

Postquam his classe octas; naves perdidit,

Aligando ut vixit, nullis assidue aliis.

His shatter'd Fleet by Shipwreck twice destroy'd,
To win at length, the Die he closely ply'd

71. Among the several Reflections which were thrown upon him, that of Prostitution he easily disprov'd, by the † Chastity of his past and future Behaviour; as also the Imputation of affecting sumptuous Furniture. For at the Taking of *Alexandria* he reserv'd to himself only one † Porphyry Cup of all the Goods belonging to the King, and melted down the

† When Corinth was burnt, the Gold, Silver, Copper and other Metals melting, and mingling in one Mass, produc'd a new Species richer than any single Sort which enter'd into the Composition. The Vessels were call'd Corinthian from their being made of this Metal.

† See the Note, Page 19.

* In Egypt, of which Ptolemy was King.

† Of the Nature of our Porcelain.

the Vessels of Gold, tho' they were such as were for constant Use. But the Charge of being frequently concern'd with Women, is what he cou'd never refuse. And in his latter Years, 'tis said, he was most addicted to Deflowring of Virgins, who were provided for him from all Parts, even by his own Wife. And it gave him no manner of Disturbance that he was reported to game; he play'd fairly, and in Publick for his Diversion, even in his old Age; and not only in the Month of $\ddot{\circ}$ December, but upon other eminent Festivals. This is past Question; for in a Letter written with his own Hand, I sup'd, my Tiberius, says he, with that Company. *Vinicius* and *Silvius* the Father were also among us. Between the Courses we play'd $\ddot{\circ}$ like old Men, both to day and yesterday. For we cast down the Brier, and as there came up one or six, every Person stak'd as many Denaries as there were Spots on each Die; and he won all who happen'd to throw a \circ Venus. We were very merry. Tiberius, says he in another Letter, upon *Minerva's Festival*. For we play'd every day, and stuck close to the Gaming House. Our Brother made wonderful Exclamations; tho' he was no great Loser upon the whole; but recover'd himself, by degrees after several severe Runs, beyond Expectation. I lost for my own Share Twenty Thousand Pieces; but this was chiefly owing to my profuse Liberality at such Times, according to my general Custom. For if I had demanded my Winnings of the Company, or had kept what I freely gave away among them, I shou'd have gone off with Twenty or Fifty Thousand Sesterces. But I chose rather to aff as I did: For my Benignity will advance me to Celestial

$\ddot{\circ}$ At this Time Games and Diversions were at their Height; for the Saturnalia were observ'd in this Month; at which, after the Manner of a Modern Carnival, all Ranks of People gave themselves a Loose to Pleasure.

$\ddot{\circ}$ i. e. Sitting: For this Game of the Tali was thought too Sedentary for Youth.

\circ The highest Cast upon the Die.

festal Honours. And he writes to his Daughter, *I have sent you Two Hundred and fifty Denarii, which I will give to each of the Guests, to play at Supper-time, if they thought proper, at Dice or at Even and Odd.*

72. In the other Parts of his Life 'tis certain he was very regular, and free from the Suspicion of any Vice. At first he dwelt near the Roman Forum, beyond the Ring-Makers Stairs, in the House which had been *Cato's* the Orator's. He liv'd afterwards on the *Palatine Mount*, in the Apartment of *Hortensius*, which was neither spacious, nor handsomely adorn'd; for the Portico's were low, and built only of *Alban Stone*, and the Rooms had no Marble about them, nor any beautiful Flooring. He lay for about forty Years in the same Chamber both in † Winter and Summer, tho' he found the City agreed very ill with his Health, by reason of the continual Foulness of the Weather. If he intended to transact any thing in private without Interruption, he had a secret Apartment at the Top of his House, which he call'd † *Syracuse* and *Trojanum*, or *The Nursery*.

‡ This was dug out of Mount *Albanus*, and was very soft and common, which made it of little Value.

† The Roman Luxury was then so great, that they had particular Apartments for the different Seasons of the Year; and, in *Domitian's* Time, they had the Effeminacy to make a Distinction of Winter and Summer Rings:

Ventilet æstivum digitis sudantibus aurum,
Nec susterre quæst majoris pondera gemmæ.

Juven. Sat. 1.

Charg'd with light Summer Rings his Fingers sweat,
Unable to support a Gem of Weight.

Mr. Dryden.

†† *Syracuse* was a beautiful City, and stood in an Island; and *Augustus*, by giving this Name to his Apartment, alluded to the Pleasurèness of it, and its being reclusè from the rest of the House.

of *Arts*, whither he retir'd; or else he withdrew to the House of one of his Freed-men in the Suburbs. But when he was sick, he us'd to lie at *Messius's* Dwelling. Of all the Places of Recess, he chiefly frequented those which were situated by the Shore, and the Islands of *Campania*, or the Towns near the City; as *Lanuvium*, *Prænestæ* and *Tibur*; where he often heard Causes in the Portico's of *Hortulus's* Temple. He was extremely against large and costly Country Seats, and even pull'd one down to the Ground, which his Grand-daughter *Julla* had rais'd with great Expence: And his own, which were of a moderate Compass, he adorn'd not so much with Statues and elegant Pictures, as with shelter'd Walks for the Winter, and with Groves, and Things remarkably antique and curious. Thus at *Copae* he had the Weapons of celebrated Heroes, and huge Limbs of Sea Monsters and Wild Beasts, which were given out to be the Bones of the † Giants.

73. His Parsimoniousness in his Furniture and Household-stuff is still to be seen, by some of his Beds which are yet remaining, and by his Tables, most of which are scarcely fit for a private Family. The Bed he lay in, they say, was plac'd on the Ground, and the Covering of it was ordinary; and he seldom wore any Garments, but what were made by the Hands of his Domesticks, as by his Wife, his Sister, and his Daughter and Grand-daughters. His Gown was neither straight nor flowing, and his Studs neither broad nor narrow. His Shoes were something rais'd, in order to make him seem taller than he was; and he always had them and his wearing Cloaths

* An Island of *Campania*, the noted Scene of *Tiberius's* Debaucheries and impious Corruptions.

† The Giants which were kill'd, on the *Phlegrean Plains* in *Campania*, by *Hercules*.

* Not rais'd on a lofty Stool, as the Beds of Princes and great Men among the Antients us'd to be.

Cloaths ready at hand in his Chamber, for any sudden and unexpected Occasion.

74. He often gave Entertainments, and always with the utmost Exactness and Decency; and was very curious in chusing what Persons, and of what Rank they were to be, whom he treated. *Valerius Maximus* says, he never invited any Freed-man, except *Mima*, and him he had before made a Denizon, after his betraying the Fleet of *Sextus Pompey*. He writes himself, that he once invited a Man, at whose Country-House he formerly took up his Lodgings, and who had been one of his Military Scouts. Sometimes he came late to Table, and went away very soon, the Company having begun before he enter'd, and continuing at it some Time after he was gone. His Allowance was three Courses, or six at the most: And tho' his Banquets were not made with extraordinary Sumptuousness, yet they were accompany'd with the Height of Pleasantry, and the utmost Gayety of Humour: For when the Guests were either silent, or talk'd very softly among themselves, he call'd upon them to speak out and use all the Freedom of Conversation; and diverted them with Scenes of Railery, with Players, and the common Dancers and Mimicks of the *Circus*, and often with a Set of squabbling* Philosophers.

75. Sometimes he celebrated the Festivals and Holidays very richly, and sometimes only in a ludicrous and jocular Manner. At the *Saturnalia*, and whenever else he thought proper, he gave Presents; as Garments, Gold, Silver, and Moneys of every Sort, even the old Coins of the Kings, and foreign

G 2

Pieces,

* Beggary Pedants, who us'd to hang upon the Tables of the Rich, and entertain'd them as they were Feasting, with mouthing and wrangling at one another about some ridiculous Paradox.

Pieces, and sometimes only † Hair Cloths, Sponges and Rakes, and a pair of Tongrs, and such like Implements, with obscure and ambiguous Sentences upon them. He us'd also to make an Auction among the Guests, of Things of the most unequal Value, and sell them Pictures by the Backside, and while none of them knew what his Purchase would prove; he either deluded, or more than answer'd his Expectation: And every one was oblig'd to come into the Lottery, and take his Share in the Loss or Gain.

76. He was a very sparing Eater, (for I can't omit this Circumstance of him,) and generally fed upon the ordinary Diet. He lov'd chiefly, the common sort of Bread, small Fish, and soft Cheese, and the green Figs which come twice in a Year: He wou'd eat also at any Time before Meals, and in any Place when his Appetite call'd. In one of his Letters he has these Words: *We eat some Bread and small Dates in the Chariot. And, As I came home from the * Palace, in my Litter, I eat an Ounce of Bread, and a few Muscadine Raisins. Again, No Jew, my Tiberius, ever fasted so strictly on his †† Sabbath, as I have fasted to day; for it was past the ‡ First Hour of the Night, when I took two Mouthfuls in the Bath, just before they began to || amuse me.* This perfect Indifference of his about his Meals, made him sometimes eat alone before the Banquet began, and after it was over, not having touch'd a Bit while the Victuals were on the Table.

77. He

† These Presents, and the Inscriptions upon them, had a Sacrilegious Allusion to the Circumstances of the Persons to whom they were given.

* The Palace of Numa, which stood by Vesta's Temple.

†† The Jews did not fast upon their Weekly Sabbath, but upon some other Days in the Week. But the Romans frequently mistook the Jewish Customs.

‡ Seven of the Clock.

|| After they had bath'd, the Romans were amused with very costly Essences by their Slaves.

OCTAVIUS CÆSAR AUGUSTUS. 125

77. He was naturally a very small Drinker of Wine. *Cassius Nepos* says, he never us'd to take above three Glasses at Supper, when he lay in Camp before *Mutina*; and afterwards, when he gave himself the greatest Liberty, he did not exceed a Pint, or if he went farther, he threw it up again. His Favourite Wine was the *Ælianum*, and he seldom drank between Meals: Instead of drinking, he took a piece of Bread soak'd in cold Water, a slice of Cucumber, or some Lettice Leaves, or a green sharp Apple, which had very much the Relish of Wine.

78. After he had eat at Noon, he threw a Covering upon his Feet, and holding his Hand over his Eyes, took a short Repose without pulling off his Cloaths and Shoes. From Supper he retir'd to his Couch in his Study, and continu'd there late till he had set down all or most of the Actions of the Day in his Register. After this he withdrew to Bed: He did not sleep above seven Hours at most, nor this in one continu'd Slumber, but waking three or four times between. If it happen'd, that he could not get to sleep again, when he was disturb'd, he had some call'd in to read or tell Stories to him, who lull'd him into a Drowse which lasted till after Day-break. He never lay awake in the Dark, but he had some body sitting by him; and if he lost his Morning Rest, it always put him out of Order: And when his Affairs, or any Religious Rites call'd him up very early, that his Health might not suffer by it, he us'd to lie down in the Chambers of any of his Domesticks which were next at Hand. Thus when he was heavy to sleep, as they carry'd him thro' the Streets, he often made them set down his * Litter, and stay while he took a Nap.

G 3

79. His

* *In Domitian's Time Juvenal speaks of the Great Men's sleeping, as they were carry'd thro' the Streets in their Litters.*

Atque

79. His Person was very graceful and noble, and extremely amiable thro' the several Degrees of his Age; tho' he wholly neglected artificial Ornament; and was so careless about trimming his Hair, that he wou'd set several Barbers in haste to work upon it at once; and sometimes he shav'd, and sometimes only clipt his Beard, and wou'd be either reading or writing all the while. Whether he spoke or was silent, there was such a Sweetness and Serenity in his Countenance, that one of the chief Rulers of the *Gauls* own'd among his Friends, it was this alone which restrain'd him, and made such an Impression on him, that he did not push him down headlong as he was passing over the *Alps*, tho' he had design'd it, when he was suffer'd to come close to him, under a Pretence of saying something in his Ear. His Eyes were bright and lively, and he affect'd to have it thought there was a certain Divine Vigour in them, and was wonderfully pleas'd if any one, when he look'd earnestly upon him, turn'd down his Eyes to the Ground, as at the Lustre of the Sun. But in his Old Age, his left Eye began to fail. His Teeth were thin set, small, and ragged; his Hair curl'd a little, and was of a faint Yellow; his Eye-brows met together, his Ears were little, and his Nose had a Rising at the Top, and grew wider below. His Complexion was between a dark and fair, and his Stature was short (tho' *Julius Marothus*, his Freed-man, asserts of him, that he was five Foot and nine Inches high) however, the Exactness and Proportion of his Limbs so conceal'd it, that it cou'd not be found out but by Comparison, when some taller Person stood by him.

80. His

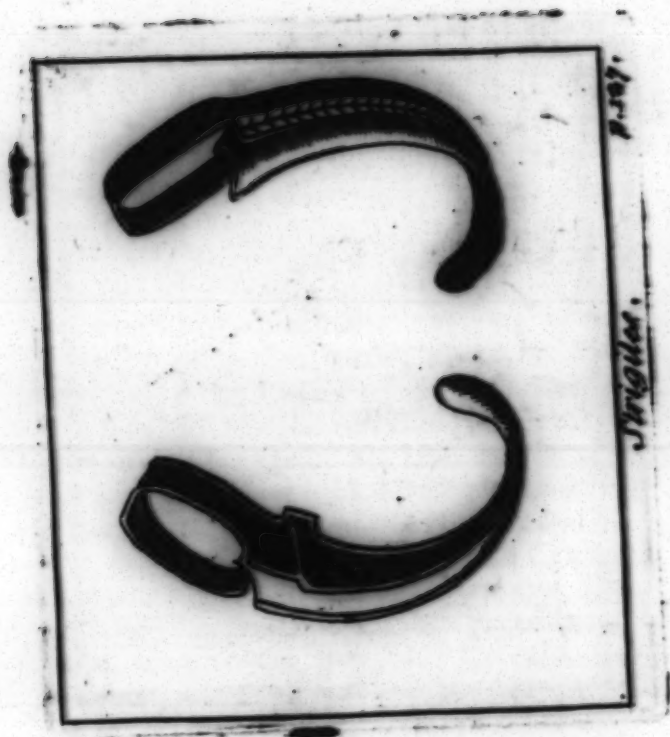
Atque obiter leget, aut scribet vel dormiet intus,
Namq; facit somnum clausâ Lectica fenestrâ.

In lofty Litters borne, they read, and write,
Or sleep at Ease: The Shutters make it Night.

Mr. Dryden.

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30. 'Tis said, his Body was full of Moles, and that he was born with Marks upon his Breast and Belly, according to the Figure, the Order, and the Number of the Stars in the Constellation of the Bear. He had also Callosities, in the Form of a Tetters, occasion'd mostly by the Itching with which he was troubled, and by his continual and violent Use of the † *Strigil*. His Left Hip, Thigh, and Leg were so weak, that he often went lame, but by the Use of warm Sand and of * Reeds, he was something restor'd. He had also such an Imbecility at times in the Fore-finger of his Right Hand, that when it was numb'd and contracted with Cold, he cou'd scarcely command it by the Help of a Horn-Stall, to write with it. He also complain'd of a Pain in his Bladder, but some small Stones coming away in his Urine, it abated.

31. At several times in his Life, he had severe and dangerous Fits of Sickness, particularly after the Conquest of *Cantabria*, when his Liver was touch'd by Defluxions of Rheum, and he was brought into so desperate a Condition, that he was forc'd to enter upon a Method quite contrary, and of a very dubious Issue; for hot Fomentations having no Effect,

G 4

he

† An Instrument of Brass, and rough on the Inside, us'd by the Romans in their Bathing to scrub off the Filth and Scurf. For the Form see the Plate. Augustus us'd it so much, because he had naturally an itching Humour running about him; and the scraping of the *Strigil* at once gave him Pleasure, and provok'd the Itching the more, and rais'd Callosities upon the Skin.

* The Juice of the common Reed was thought very beneficial in such Cases; for the Root bruis'd with Vinegar, Dioscorides says, is good against Pains in the Lains.

he try'd * cold by the Advice of *Aemius Musa*. He had some Distempers which were Annual, and return'd at certain Periods: For about the time of his Birth-day, he had Fits of Languishing and Weakness, and at the beginning of the Spring he was troubled with an Inflation of the Midriff, and in a South Wind with a Stoppage in his Head; and this broke him so, that he could not well bear either Heat or Cold.

52. He wore four Tunicks and a thick Gown, an inner Coat, a Flannel Stomacher, and Swathings on his Thighs and Legs in the Winter; but in Summer he lay with his Chamber Doors open, and frequently in a Portico with Waters playing round him, and some body standing by to fan him. He cou'd not endure even the Winter Sun, and never walk'd abroad in the open Air, but with a broad Bonnet on his Head. He travell'd generally in his Litter and by Night, and made very short, and easy Stages, so that he was two Days in going to † *Præneste* or *Tibur*: But if he could go by Sea, he chose it rather. He took the utmost Care of his crazy Constitution; in particular, he †† bath'd very seldom, and was often anointed, and sweat by a Stove; after which he was wash'd in Water heated over the Fire, or made warm in the Sun: And whenever, upon the account of his Nerves, he was to use the Sea-Water, or the hot Waters of *Albula*, he went no farther than to sit on

* The Romans all us'd the Hot Bath excessively; but *Musa*, the Physician, had a wonderful Opinion of the Cold, and generally prescrib'd it. He order'd it for *Augustus's* Son *Marcellus*, and according to *Dio Cassius*, it was the Cause of his Death: For it was so contrary to the general Custom, that People were extremely prejudic'd against it, and thought it exceeding hazardous.

† Much about Eight Miles in a Day.

†† *Augustus's* Illness was upon his Nerves, in which Caesar Bathing is esteem'd prejudicial.

on a Wooden Bench, which he call'd by a Spanish Name *Sopas*, and dip in his Hands and Feet by turns.

83. Immediately after the Civil Wars, he laid down the Exercises in the *Campus Martius*, of Riding and Arms, and took up first that of the Ball and the Dice; and afterwards all the Diversion he us'd, was to walk, or to be carried from place to place; yet toward the end of his days, he wou'd alight, and fetch a Run, and take several Jumps, cover'd only with a Linen Cloth, or with a Flannel. Sometimes, to unbind his Mind, he wou'd fish with an Angle, or play at Cockall, at Peach-Stones or Cob-Nut with little Boys, collecting such as had beautiful Faces and prattled much, from all Parts, especially from † *Mauritanis* and *Syria*: But those who were Dwarfs, and distorted, or had any Defect, he abhor'd as the Sport of Nature, and as of an ill Omen.

G 5

84. He

* The keeping of beautiful Boys was an eminent Part of Luxury and State with the Antients, and was often attended with a Criminal Passion. It was imputed to the Gods themselves; for Jupiter had his *Ganymede*, whom his Eagle brought off to him as he was hunting by Mount *Ida*.

Intertextusq; puer frondosa regius Ida, &c.

Æn. 5.

There *Ganymede* was wrought, with living Art,
Chasing thro' *Ida's* Groves the trembling Hart;
Breathless he seems, yet eager to pursue;
When from aloft descends in open View
The Bird of Jove, and snatching on his Prey,
With crooked Talons bears the Boy away.

Mr. Dryden.

† The Romans were most fond of the Boys of those Countries.

* Agreeably to the Superstition of the Antients, with whom almost every Thing was ominous.

84. He study'd Eloquence and the Liberal Arts from his Childhood with the utmost Application and Pleasure. In the War of *Marius*, when he had such a World of important Affairs upon him, he is said to have read, and wrote, and declaim'd every Day. And after this, he never spoke in the Senate, or to the People, or the Soldiers: but he consider'd and drew up his Speech before-hand, tho' he did not want a Faculty of expressing himself *ad impetum* upon any sudden Occasion. And lest he should be in danger of committing some Slip of Memory, he shou'd spend too much Time in learning his Speeches by Heart, he made it a Custom to read them all from his Notes. He spoke his † Discourses also with any Person, and even his Conversations upon Matters of Consequence with *Louis*, from his Table-Book, that he might not by speaking unwisely, say either too much or too little. He pronounc'd with a pleasing and just Tone of Voice, and was continually taking Pains to form his Modulation by the Instructions of a Master. But sometimes, when his Throat was disorder'd, the Crier rehears'd his Oration to the People.

85. He

* *The* Augustus was more happy than his Uncle Julius in the Arts of Civil Government, yet in Arms and Letters, 'tis certain, his Uncle was vastly his Superior. For Augustus was no extraordinary Writer, and was at Bottom a Coward. And perhaps it is well for his Reputation, as an Author, that his Commentaries of his own Life are lost, that they may not be compar'd with *Cæsar's*.

† This must be understood only of Directions and general Answers about Affairs of Business, and not of a free Conversation among Friends, which Augustus took a Pleasure to encourage, for that wou'd have been impracticable under such a Constraint.

OCTAVIUS CESAR AUGUSTUS. 131

85. He compos'd several things in Prose upon various Subjects, and recited some of them to an Assembly of familiar Friends as before an Audience; such was his Answer to Brutus concerning Cato. Having read over a great Part of these Compositions, when he was old, and growing weary, he gave them to Tiberius to go on and read them thro'. He also wrote Exhortations to Philosophy, and Memorials of his own Life, which he continu'd, in Thirteen Books, to the Cantabrian War, and no farther. He made some light Excursions in Poetry. There is extant a Volume of his written in Hexameter Verse, the Argument and Title of which is *Sicilia*; also another small Book of Epigrams, most of which he wrote at the time of Bithyn. Having begun a Tragedy with great Sublimity and Vigour, and not succeeding in it to his Satisfaction, he struck it out; and his Friends asking him what was become of his *Ajax*, My *Ajax*, says he, *has †† fallen on a Sponge.*

86. He

* It was a Custom with the Roman Authors, to rehearse their Works in Prose or Verse before a Publick Audience. They generally did it in the Hall of some great Man's House, who gave them the Liberty of it upon such an Occasion. Thus Juvenal,

— at si dulcedine fama
Succensus recites, Macutonus commodat aedes,
At longe ferrata domus servire jubetur, &c.

Sat. 7.

But if to Fame alone thou dost pretend,
The Miser will his empty Palace lend,
Set wide his Doors, adorn'd with plated Brasse,
Where Drives as at a City-Gate may pass;
A spacious Hall afford thee to rehearse,
And send his Clients to applaud thy Verse.

Mr. Charles Dryden.

†† Ajax fell upon his own Sword, and kill'd himself; and Augustus alludes to this in his Answer.

§ 6. He endeavour'd to obtain a Style elegant and correct, avoiding all Improperities and Trifles, and the Racks, as he us'd to call it, of Words that smell'd too strong of Antiquity. It was his principal Care to express his Meaning as clearly as possible; and to effect this the more easily, and rather to perplex his Reader, than to perplex the Reader, or Hearers, he never made a Scruple of adding Propositions to Verbs, or of repeating the Conjunctions; the Suppression of which is apt to occasion some Obscurity, tho' it increases the Beauty of the Sentence. Those who us'd an affected and unnatural Style, or obsolete Words, he held equally in Contempt, as being both faulty, tho' in a different Way. He was sometimes very severe upon his intimate Friend Manius, perpetually playing upon his *jeu de mots*, * his *front sainted* Curls, as he call'd them, and rallying him by a fictitious Imitation of his Manner of Expression. Nor did he spare even Titinius for his hawking after Words antiquated and uncommon. He exposes Mark Anthony, as a Mad-Man, for writing what was rather to be † admir'd than understood; and joking upon his Inconstancy and want of Judgment in the Choice of his Style, *Tha are in doubt then, says he, whether you shou'd copy after Cimbber Annius, or Viranius Flaccus: Whether you shou'd use the Words which Sallust has taken from the † Origines of Cato, or rather translate into our Language the Volubility in the empty Periods of the || Asiatick Orators.*

* i. e. The affected Niceness of his Expressions.

† The same that Æschines said of some Parts of Demosthenes's Orations, that they were *Δαίμωνιον* non finitum, not Words, but Prodigies. Perhaps Augustus borrow'd it from him.

† Cato Major, from whom Sallust is said to have taken several antiquated Words he uses in his History.

|| The Sentences of the Asiatick Writers were smooth and flowing, and full of Words; but their Sense was low and barren.

OCTAVIUS CESAR AUGUSTUS. 133

107. And commending the quick Parts of his Grand-Daughter in one of his Letters, *But it is unnecessary* says he, *that you observe to write, or speak, so as to be understood without Trouble.*

87. It appears by his Letters written with his own Hand, that he had several remarkable Sayings, which he us'd frequently in his common Discourse. Thus, when he wou'd signify that such or such Persons wou'd never pay their Debts, *Those Gentlemen, will pay at the Greek Kalends.* And advising People to be satisfy'd with the present Circumstances whatever they were, *Let us be content,* he wou'd say, *with this † Cato.* And to express the Celerity of any Action, *It was done before you cou'd boil an Asparagus.* He generally us'd *basilium* for *salute*, and *pulsarium* for *pulver*; *curculio* for *cervix*; *capide sese habere* for *male*, and *letisare* for *laqueare*, the vulgar Word for which is *lachrymare*; also *sumus* for *sumus*, and *dimus*, in the Genitive Case singular, for *dimus*: And these two Words he never wrote otherwise, that it might not be thought a Mistake in him, rather than a Custom. What I particularly observe in his Hand-Writing, was, that he did not divide his Words, nor carry forward the Letters which cou'd not be brought in at the End of a Line to the Beginning of the next, but ** set them down below and hook'd them in.

88. He

* The Romans call'd the First Day of every Month the Kalends; and the Greeks not giving it that Name, had consequently no Kalends.

† Cato was a Man of such celebrated Virtue with the Romans, that he was look'd on as a Standard: And the Meaning of this Saying is, That if we can't have Persons virtuous in so high a Degree, we shou'd be content with having them as good as we can.

** Thus, May I be able to bring the Republick in a prosperous and well-establish'd Condition. (to

88. He was not very scrupulous in following the Orthography, that is, the Forms and Rules of Writing instituted by Grammarians; and seem'd rather to have been of their Opinion, who think we ought to write as we speak. That he often chang'd or omitted not only Letters, but Syllables also, is a popular Error: Nor shou'd I have taken Notice of it, if I had not thought it very strange, that some have reported, he once displac'd a Consular Governour, for an illiterate Fellow, because he catch'd him writing *ae* instead of *ae*. Whenever he wrote in Characters, he put *t* for *s*, *c* for *k*, and the other Letters in the same Manner; and for *x* he us'd a double *ae*.

89. Nor was he less strongly inclin'd to the Grecian Learning, in which he made a considerable Progress.

† Julius Caesar's Method was to transpose every fourth Letter, and write *d* for *s*, &c. See pag. 35.

Greece was the Fountain of Learning to the Romans, who deriv'd their Philosophy and the Liberal Arts from thence. The Schools in each Kind were also generally held by Grecian Masters, who were esteem'd the ablest Teachers in every Science. Thus Virgil ingeniously confesses the Merit of his Country-men did not lie in Literature and the polite Accomplishments of Life, but in Virtues of an Imperial and Martial Nature.

Exudent alii spiritus mollius aera, &c.

Æn. 6.

Let others better mould the running Mass
Of Metals, and inform the breathing Brass,
Plead better at the Bar; describe the Skies,
And when the Stars descend, and when they rise:
But Rome, 'tis thine alone, with awful Sway,
To rule Mankind, and make the World obey,
Disposing Peace and War thy own Majestick Way:
To tame the Proud, the fetter'd Slave to free;
These are Imperial Arts, and worthy Thee.

Mr. Dryden.

OCTAVIUS CESAR AUGUSTUS. 139

Prologue. Having *II* *Latellus* *Polignus* for his Master in Rhetoric, while he took along with him in his Old Age, while he was himself a Youth, from the City of *Apollonia*. Being well instructed in the various Learning of *Apollonia*, he form'd a close Society with *Arus*, the Philosopher, and his Sons *Dionysius* and *Meane*; yet he wou'd not adventure to *Arus* or *Meane* in *Græc*; but whenever he had Occasion, he drew up his Thoughts in *Latin*, and gave the Paper to some to translate it into *Græc*. He certainly was not unskill'd in Poetry, and was delighted with the *II* Old Comedy, and had

II A Celebrated Orator of *Peripatetic* in *Græce*. *II* A *Hard-man* of *Angellus* and his *Padagogus*. Upon his Death *Augustus* gave him a publick Funeral. *The Græcs*, because the fashionable Language with the Romans, as *French* is now with us. *Cicero* was so extremely fond of it, that he has sprinkl'd it very liberally thro' his familiar Letters: And the *Women* at last ran into such an Affectation of it, that they scarcely spoke any other.

omnis Græce.

Cum sit turpe magis nostris nescire Latine.
Hoc sermone pavent, hoc iram, gaudia, curas,
Hoc cuncta effundunt animi secreta, &c.

Juv. Sat. 6.

In *Græce* their whole Accomplishments they seek;
Their Fashion, Breeding, Language must be *Græc*:
But now in all that do's to *Rome* belong,
They strive to cultivate their Mother-Tongue.
In *Græc* they flatter, all their Fears they speak,
Tell all their Secrets, nay, they scold in *Græc*.

Mr. Dryden.

II Form'd after the Manner of the *Vetus Comœdia* of the *Græcs*, in which *Persons* were introduc'd by their real Names, and their Characters treated at the Pleasure of the Poet. Such is *Aristophanes's Comedy of the Clouds*, where *Socrates* is brought in and expos'd by Name.

had it often cited at the Publick Shows. In passing over the Coast and Lido Anthony, when he particularly remark'd was, the Principles and Rules which might be of Use in publick or private Life. He transferr'd them verbally, and sent them to his Domestic, or to the Commanders of the Armies and Provinces, or the Magistrates of the City, to be thought they might stand in need of Advice. He also recited some whole Books to the Senate, and had them publish'd among the People; as the Oration of *M. Metellus*, * Concerning the Marriage of Offspring; and of *Rutilius*, Concerning the Manner of Building, the better to convince them, that he was not the first Mover in both those Matters; but that their Ancestors had long since laid them under their Care. He gave all manner of Encouragement to the Ingenious Men of his Age; hearing them, with a World of Good-Nature and Patience, † review their Works; not only Poems and Histories, but Orations also and Dialogues. Yet he was displeas'd if any Thing was written about himself, unless it were seriously; and by the most eminent Hands; and charg'd the Pretors

* *Augustus* recited these Orations, and publish'd them at the Time when he was endeavouring to change the several Orders to marry, and undertook to adorn the City. See pag. 81, 86. *Metellus*, when he was Consul, had requir'd all Decretes to marry, in order to multiply the People. His Oration was to persuade the Romans to comply with this Law, and convince them of the Advantages of it to the Common-Wealth. *Augustus* meeting with great Difficulties in pursuing the same Design, from the Licentious Customs which had been introduc'd, and the Expensiveness of his other Attempt, to regulate the Buildings and make them more beautiful and commodious, probably occasioning also a strong Opposition; he found it necessary to produce these Precedents of former Magistrates, to support his Practice in both Particulars.

† See the Note, pag. 131.

OCTAVIUS CÆSAR AUGUSTUS. 137

Pretors not to suffer his Name to be dishonour'd in the Disputations on the Theatre.

90. Concerning Religious Accidents, his Character is thus represented. He was so weakly afraid of Thunder and Lightning, that he perpetually carry'd a Seal-Skin about with him in every Place, as a Protection : And whenever he was apprehensive of a violent Storm, he retir'd to some || Arched Cellar or Vault, having, as is related above, been formerly put into a terrible Consternation by a Flash of Lightning, as he was travelling in the Night.

91. He never slighted either his own Dreams, or those of others concerning himself. At the Battel of *Philippæ*, tho' he had resolv'd not to go out of his Tent because of his Indisposition, yet being warn'd by a Dream of one of his Friends, he went forth : And it happen'd very well that he did ; for his Camp was taken, and a Multitude of the Enemy rush'd into his Pavilion, and stab'd his Bed thro' and thro', as if he had been lying in it. In the Spring he had always a great many Dreams, and very frightful, vain and trifling ; the rest of the Year he had fewer and more important. Having constantly frequented the Fane dedicated to *Jupiter the Thunderer*, he dream'd that *Jupiter † Capitolinus* complain'd his Worship-
pers

* From an absurd Opinion, that there was a Virtue in it to secure from the Blast of Lightning. The Antients had the same Fancy concerning Laurel ; and such is the senseless Conceit with us, that the Huckle-bone of a Sheep will prevent the Cramp.

|| In such Places he was more out of the Noise of the Thunder, and more secure from the Shock ; an Arch being the firmest Building.

† His Temple stood in the Capital : Augustus also built there a small Fane, in manner of a Chapel to the Thunderer ; to which the People is seems, after his Example, mostly resorted. In his Sleep he imagin'd *Capitolinus*,
who

parts were drawn off from him, and that he answer'd he had plac'd the Thunderer by him for a Janitor; and immediately upon this he hung the Roof of the *Fane* with the little Bells which are usually hung in Portals. Being admonish'd also by a nocturnal Vision, he us'd upon a certain Day in every Year to *††* beg Money of the People, and held out his Hand open to receive the Pieces they gave him.

92. He look'd upon *‡* Auspices and Omens as of an infallible Signification. If his Shoes were put on wrong in the Morning, the left before the right, he thought it an ill Presage. When he was undertaking any Voyage or Journey of Length, if it happen'd to mixale, he esteem'd it a good Token of a quick and happy Return. He was principally affected with unusual Sights. He transplanted a *Pallatree*, which shot out between the joining of the Stones before his House, into the Space by the Repository

who was Lord in chief of the Soil, complain'd that his *Whippers* fell off from him to this new Comer, the Thunderer; and to excuse the Matter, he reply'd, he was so far from designing him any Disrespect or Prejudice, by erecting the Thunderer a little *Fane* just beside his Temple, that he intended him an Honour by it, and plac'd the Thunderer there, as his Servant, to look to his Gates. Accordingly, when he wak'd, he hung the Roof of the Thunderer's *Fane* with such Bells, as were fasten'd in the Portals of Great Men's Houses. For the Janitors kept Watch there by Night, and upon any Alarm struck the Bell, which gave the Signal to the rest, and rais'd the Neighbourhood.

* Of Jupiter the Thunderer, who was to strike them for an Alarm, if any Danger threaten'd the Temple of *Capitolinus*.

†† A piece of voluntary Humiliation to deprecate the Anger of the Gods.

‡ Auspices were Observations taken from the Notes, Flights and Feeding of Birds. Omens were taken from any Words or Accidents.

OCTAVIUS CÆSAR AUGUSTUS. 139

solitary of the Household Gods which was left to receive the Rain, and us'd a world of Care, that it might take root there and flourish. It was such a Joy to him, that at his Arrival in the Island † Caprea; the Branches of an old dodder'd Oak, which were wither'd and hung down to the Ground, reviv'd as new, that he gave the Republick of Naples the Island † Auriæ in Exchange for the other. He also observ'd several Days; for he wou'd never begin a Journey the Day after the ‡ Nundinae, and take any weighty Affair in hand upon the † Nones. All that he design'd to avoid by this was, as he writes to Tiberius, the ominous Meaning of the Name.

93. As he very reverently observ'd the Ceremonies of Foreign Nations, which were antient and were †† ordain'd by the Laws, so he despis'd the rest. For being

li Afterwards famous for Tiberius's Retreat. See his Life, § 40.

† An Island in the Italian Sea, South-West of Naples. It was also call'd Inaurine, and now Ischia.

‡ The Nundinae were every Ninth Day in the Roman Kalender; upon them the Country People repair'd to Rome, and held a publick Market or Fair of all Commodities.

† The Ninth Day before the Ides, which were about the Middle of the Month.

†† It was a Custom with the Romans to adapt into the Number of their Deities, the Gods of the Nations they conquer'd; but not the foreign Rites of Worship, which they generally despis'd. By adapting the Gods they imagin'd they transfer'd their Protection and Favour from the People to whom they originally belong'd, to themselves; for they interpreted their gaining the Victory, or a Token that the Gods had abandon'd the Inhabitants of the Place, and declar'd in their Behalf.

being initiated at *Aten* in the *Ægyptian* Rites, and sitting in Court afterwards at *Rome*, upon the Privilege of the Priests of *Ceres* of *Aten*, when some of the more secret Parts of the Mysteries came to be mention'd in the Pleading, he sent off the Assessors, and those who stood by, and heard the Debate alone. Yet on the other Hand, he not only forbore to turn a little out of his Way when he went thro' *Egypt*, to visit their *†* *God*, but commended his Grandson *Caius*, that in his Passage thro' *Judea* he had not made any * *Supplications* at *Jerusalem*.

94. And

|| *Ceremonies* perform'd at *Eleusis*, near *Athens*, in Commemoration of *Ceres's* finding her Daughter after *Pluto* had stolen her away. They were some of the most solemn and mysterious in the Pagan Superstition; and those who sought to be initiated into them, were prepar'd for so extraordinary a Favour by a long Probation, and had the Rites imparted to them by Degrees, which they were under the most Religious Obligation not to disclose: Hence *Augustus* clears the Court, when some Particulars of these Ceremonies came to be mention'd in the Course of the Trial.

† *The Ægyptian God*. It was an *Ou* with a black Body, a square Spot of white on the Forehead, the Figure of an Eagle on the Back, and of a Snail or Beetle on the Tongue, and the Hairs of the Tail were double.

i. e. He had not worshipp'd at *Jerusalem* after the Jewish Rites. For as the Romans, according to a former Note, were apt to condemn the Religious Rites of other Nations, so they had a particular Aversion to the Jews. This Prejudice might be occasion'd by the sullen Temper of the Jews, who superciliously shunn'd all Conversation with the Gentiles, by their Promises to rebel against the Roman Government, and by the direct Opposition of their Religion to the Idolatry and Corruptions of the Pagan Worship. This Circumstance is the more remarkable in *Augustus*, because *Philo* and *Josephus* represent him as well affected to the Jews, and even contributing to their Sacrifices.

OCTAVIUS CÆSAR AUGUSTUS. 141

94. And since I am upon this Subject, it may not be improper to add the Circumstances which † occur'd before his Birth, and on the Day of his Nativity and afterwards, by which his future Greatness and perpetual Felicity were plainly intimated and promis'd. Part of the Wall at *Philis* being struck down by Lightning, the Southsayers answer'd, a Cæsar of that Town shou'd one Day enjoy the Dominion of the World; in Confidence of which the *Philinians*, both at the time and frequently afterwards, push'd on a War with the *Ætians*, till they were almost ruin'd; at last it evidently appear'd, the Omen portended the Power of *Augustus*. *Julius Marcellus* says, that a few Months before he was born, a Prodigy happen'd publicly at *Rome*, which declar'd, Nature was in Travail with a Prince for the *Roman* People; at which the Senate was so alarm'd, that they order'd no Male Child, born in the same Year, shou'd be brought up; and that all whose Wives were pregnant, which gave them Hopes of the Prediction's happening to themselves,

en-

† *Suetonius's Words are, Quæ ei prius, quam nasceretur, evenerint, The Things which happen'd to him before he was born; which seems to be no very proper Expression.*

The whole World was at this Time in a general Expectation of the Appearance of some extraordinary Person, who shou'd possess an Universal Dominion. The Tradition plainly arose from the Prophecies in the Holy Scripture concerning the Messiah, of which the Gentiles had obtain'd some Knowledge from the Jews in their Dispersal. And the *Roman Historians*, who endeavour'd to expand it of a Prince of their own, declare it was an ancient and constant Opinion, that some one shou'd arise in *Judea*, and rule over the whole World. And *Tacitus* says expressly, this Personage was contain'd in the Sacred Records of the Jewish Priests. See *Tacit. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 13. and Suet. Vesp. § 4.*

endeavour'd to prevent the Decree's being enroll'd in the Treasury. In the Testimony of Asclepius concerning the Gods was sign'd at \dagger Athens, I have read, that *Asia*, having attended at the Solemnities of Apollo by Mid-Night, and sitting her Chair down in the Temple, fell into a sound Sleep while the other Matrons were slumbering, and that a \dagger Dragon crept to her privately, and shortly after withdrew, and swathing the purify'd herself as from the Embraces of her Husband, and immediately a Spot appear'd in her Body, like the Picture of a Dragon, and could never be wash'd out; inasmuch that upon this she always abstain'd from the Publick Baths; and that at the end of ten Months *Asclepius* was born, and was for this Reason esteem'd the Son of *Apollo*. Before the Birth, the same *Asia* also dream'd, her Bowels were carry'd up to the Stars, and extended \dagger thro' the whole Circuit of the Earth and Heaven.

* Because if they cou'd prevent this Involvement, it was no Law, and they were not bound to obey it. This Involvement is mention'd Page 17.

\dagger A City in Egypt, where they worshipp'd a Goat, and prostituted to him the most beautiful Women, provoking the Deity, by wicked Arts, to the unnatural Mixture. Asclepius was a Native of the Place, and wrote his Transgression in Vindication of this prodigious Practice.

\dagger The same Fable as is reported concerning Alexander the Great, who was said to be begotten by Jupiter, who infused his Mother Olympias in the Form of a Dragon. It was a common Artifice and known Piece of Flattery, to deduce the Descent of Princes and Great Men from the Gods. Thus *Æneas*, from whom the Julian Family affected to derive themselves, is represented to be the Son of Venus by Anchises.

\dagger To signify, that the Child which proceeded from her should first obtain the Dominion of the whole Earth, and finally be assum'd to Heaven among the Gods.

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And his Father *Ottavius* dream'd, a Sun-beam
 darted out from *Asia's* Womb. The Day when he
 was born, *Cataline's* Conspiracy being then under
 Debate in the House, and *Ottavius*, on Occasion of
 his Wife's Travail, coming late to the Senate, every
 one has heard, that *Night*, when he understood
 the Reason of his Stay, and knew the Hour of
 the Delivery, pronounc'd the Lord of the World
 was born. And *Ottavius* afterwards marching his
 Army thro' the Wilds of *Thrace*, and consulting the
 Oracle in the Grove of † *Liber Pater* according to the
 Barbarians Ceremonies, about his Son, the Priests
 return'd him the same Answer, for when the
 Wine was pour'd upon the Altar, such a Body
 of Flame arose, as shot up beyond the Roof of the
 Temple and reach'd quite to Heaven; a Portent
 which

|| A Symbol that Augustus was begotten by Apollo,
 who was the Sun.

He was a Senator and a celebrated Astrologer, and
 understanding the Horoscope of Augustus, undertook to fore-
 tell his future Greatness, or rather having been conversant
 in the most remarkable Prophecies, which were then known,
 he apply'd to Augustus the Prediction mention'd in the
 Note, p. 141.

† Bacchus, whom the Romans call'd *Liber Pater*,
 possibly, because Wine sets Men free from Care and Sorrow.
 He had several Names among different Nations. The
 great Bochart, in his *Phaleg*, makes him to be the same
 as Nimrod, and derives the Name Bacchus from Bar-
 chus, the Son of Chus; and Vossius has very learnedly
 shewn the Similitude between the Accounts of Bacchus and
 the History of Moses.

* It appears that they affect'd to make Augustus re-
 semble Alexander the Great in several Circumstances,
 representing him as begotten by a God in the Form of a
 Dragon, and as born to Universal Empire. This Portent
 of the Flames, and the Vision of *Ottavius* in the next Sen-
 tence, must be understood as Indications of the Glory and
 Dominion of Augustus, and his future Divinity.

which had never happen'd to any but to *Alexander* the Great, when he was sacrificing at the same Altar. The next Night also he thought he saw his Son of a Stature more than Human, arm'd with a Thunder-bolt and Sceptre, and clad in the Vests of *Jupiter Supreme*, wearing a Radiant Crown, and sitting in a Triumphant Chariot, drawn by twice six Horses of an extraordinary Whiteness. While he was yet an Infant, as *†† Caesar Drusus* writes, being laid out Evening into the Cradle by the Nurse upon a lower Floor, they mis'd him the next Morning, and after a long Search, he was found in a very high Tower, lying directly against the Rising Sun. As soon as he began to speak, he commanded the Frogs which happen'd to make a loud Noise near his Patrimonial Seat in the Country, to be silent; from which Time, 'tis said, the Frogs never croak there. As he was eating about four Miles from the City in the *Campanian Road*, an Eagle suddenly snatch'd the Bread out of his Hand, and soaring aloft, came down again unexpectedly with a gentle Descent and return'd it to him. *Quintus Catulus*, after the Dedication of the Capitol, dream'd for two Nights successively, in the first that a Company of Noble Boys playing round the Altar, *Jupiter Supreme* singled out one, and put the Seal of the Republick which

†† The Son of *Tiberius*, who, according to *Rychius*, mention'd this in the Funeral Oration he made upon *Augustus*, § 101. This Dream may signify, perhaps, the Advancement of *Augustus*, which is intimated by his being carry'd up from a Ground-Room to the Top of a lofty Tower, and by his facing the Rising Sun, which is an Emblem of Exaltation: The last Circumstance may also respect the Fancie of his being the Son of *Apollo*, or the Sun.

* The same *Catulus* when *Julius Caesar* (Pag. 8.) turn'd out of his Office: He finish'd the Rebuilding of the Capitol after it was burnt, and dedicated it, by which he had the Honour of having his Name inscrib'd on the Top of the Capitol: *Caesar* read it, and plac'd his own in its stead.

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which he held in his Hand, into his Bosom; and the next Night, that he observ'd the same Boy in the Lap of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and when he wou'd have commanded him to be taken away, the God forbid it, and order'd him to let him alone, as one who was to be educated for the Preservation of the Republick: And the Day following, meeting *Augustus*, who was unknown to him at the Time, he look'd on him with Admiration, and protested he was exactly like the Child of whom he had dream'd. Others relate the first Dream of *Catulus* in a different Manner; as, That several Noble Children having ask'd a Tutor of *Jupiter*, he pointed out to them one of their Number, who deserv'd to be the Object of all their Desires; and that he * brought back his Hand when the Youngster had saluted it, and so apply'd the Kifs to his Mouth. *Marcus Cicero*, as he was following *Julius Caesar* to the Capitol, happen'd to tell his Friends a Dream he had the Night before, That a Boy of a Noble Aspect was let down from Heaven in a Golden Chain, and stood at the Door of the Capitol, and that *Jupiter* deliver'd to him a † Scurge; and seeing *Augustus* afterwards on a sudden, who was known by Face to very few, and was then sent for by his Uncle *Cesar* to come to the Sacrifices, he affirm'd him to be the same Child whose Resemblance had appear'd to him in his Sleep. As he was putting on his Virile Gown, his Tunick with the †† *Lati Clavi*, which

H

which

* A Form of Salutation, by which they seem'd to convey the Kifs to their Mouth.

† It being the Privilege of a Roman Citizen, not to be beaten with Rods or a Scurge, this Ceremony intimated that *Augustus* shou'd subvert the antient Rights and Liberties, and become an absolute Prince.

†† It is greatly disputed among the Learned, what the *Lati Clavi* were. Some make them to be Boffes like the Head of a Nail, for buttoning the Garment; others say, they were Purple or Golden Lines, which ran along the Middle

which was open at the Sides, fell down at his Feet; and some interpreted it to signify, that the * Order of which that Habit was a Badge, shou'd one day be subjected to him. And *Julius Caesar* having mark'd out the Ground for a Camp at *Munda*, as they were felling a Wood there, he found a † Palm-tree, and commanded them to leave it standing, as an Omen of Victory; out of this a Shoot immediately arose, and grew so much in a few Days, that it not only equall'd, but even over-shaded the main Tree, and Flocks of ‡ Doves built their Nests in the Boughs, tho' that Kind of Birds particularly avoid a hard and prickly Leaf. And this Portent, they say, chiefly induc'd *Caesar* to desire no one shou'd succeed him but his Sister's Nephew. In his Retreat at *Apollonia*, going with *Agrippa* into the Study of *Theophrastus* the

Middle of the Garment; and others, that they were a Bordering of Purple. See *Rubenius de Re vestiaria*, *Dacier*, and *Grævius*.

* The Senators, to whom this Habit was peculiar, as appears by this Expression in the Life of *Julius Caesar*,—*laureum Clavum sumserunt*, to signify the Gauls becoming Senators.

† It was usual for Conquerors to carry Branches of Palm in their Hands; for Palm was a Symbol of Victory, because it makes its Way thro' all Resistance, and surmounts any Pressures which are laid upon it.

‡ The Birds of Venus, from whom the Julian Family claim'd their Descent. They are an Omen of Royalty, according to *Servius*, because they are never alone, as Kings are never without Attendants. And the Sense of this Portent seems to be, That *Julius Caesar* shou'd be a Conqueror, as he was over *Pompey*, and that from his Stem one shou'd arise, who shou'd far exceed him in Success and Greatness; which was fulfill'd in *Augustus*.

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the †† Astrologer, which was in an upper Room, when great Things, and almost incredible were foretold to Agrippa, who consulted the Artist first, Augustus conceal'd his Nativity, and refus'd to discover it, out of Fear and Shame lest it should prove to be inferior to the other's: And being after a world of Intreaties, hardly drawn to declare it, Theogenes started up from his Seat, and worshipp'd him. Upon this, Augustus was so confident of his Fate, that he * publish'd the Configuration of the Heavens at his Birth,

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†† Theogenes Mathematicus, for the Romans call'd them Mathematici, who calculated Nativities, and told Fortunes from the Configuration and Aspect of the Stars; and their infinite Superstition gave them a wonderful Opinion of these Nosterdamus's, whom they consult-
ed with a great Veneration. They were generally Foreign-
ers, for the Romans themselves were scandalously ignorant in Natural Philosophy; and the Chaldeans, who are said to have invented Astrology, were in most Esteem.

Chaldæis sed major fiducia. Quicquid
Dixerit Astrologus, credent à fronte relatum
Ammonis, &c.

Juv. Sat. 6.

More Credit yet, is to Chaldeans giv'n;
What they foretell, is deem'd the Voice of Heav'n:
Their Answers as from Hammon's Altar come,
Since now the Delphian Oracles are dumb:
And Mankind, ignorant of future Fate,
Believes what foud Astrologers relate.

Mr. Dryden.

* Before Theogenes had given his Judgment upon it, Augustus was afraid to let his Horoscope be known, lest the Masters in the Art should pronounce it inauspicious: But when he saw it was so very fortunate, he chose to make it publick, because it might strike an Impression on the Minds of the People, and prepossess them in his Favour.

Birth, and struck Silver Medals with the Constellation of † Capricorn, under which he was born.

95. Returning from *Apollonia* after the Murder of *Caesar*, and entering into the City, the Day became on a sudden very serene and clear, and a ☉ Circle in the Form of a Rainbow encompass'd the Body of the Sun; and presently the †† Monument of *Julia*, the Daughter of *Julius Caesar*, was struck with Lightning. As he was expecting an ‖ Augury at his standing for his first Consulship, twelve Vultures appear d

† Scaliger and Petavius justly affirm it to be impossible that *Augustus*, who was born in September, at which Time the Sun enters the Sign of *Libra*, could have *Capricorn* for his Horoscope. *Virgil*, when he is considering which of the Celestial Houses *Augustus* shou'd chuse for his Habitation, proposes to place him by *Libra*, or the Balance, between *Scorpio* and *Virgo*, under the last of which *Virgil* himself was born.

Ante novum tardis fidus te mensibus addas;
Qua locus Erigonem inter Chelasiq; sequenteis
Panditur, &c. *Geor.* 1.

Or wilt thou bless our Summers with thy Rays,
And, seated near the Ballance, poize the Days;
Where in the Void of Heav'n a Place is free,
Betwixt the Scorpion and the Maid, for thee.
Mr. Dryden.

* Some have expounded this to signify the Tumults and Confusions which succeeded; such Circles, according to them, presignifying Publick Troubles.

†† This may be interpreted, that the immediate Line of *Julius Caesar* shou'd fail and give place to *Augustus*, who was his Son by Adoption.

‖ It was a Custom for the Candidates, the Night before the Election, to place themselves in the open Air, and watch for some Omen or Signal, by which they prejudg'd what Success they shou'd have the next Day.

pear'd to him, as they had done to *Romulus*. And the Livers of all the Victims, as he was sacrificing, were observ'd to be double on the Inside, at the Bottom. Nor did such as were skill'd in Things of this Nature, make any other Construction of these Circumstances, than that they portended very great and happy Events.

96. He had also a certain Intimation of the Success of all his Wars, beforehand. When the Forces of the * *Triumviri* were drawn together at *Bononia*, an Eagle sitting upon his Pavilion, persecuted two † Crows which assail'd him from this Side and the other, and beat them down to the Ground: Upon which it was the Observation of the whole Army, that such a Difference wou'd one time arise between the Collegues, as afterwards happen'd; and they even presag'd the final Issue of the Quarrel. At *Philippi* a certain *Thessalian* foretold him of the following Victory, which he was appris'd of by *Julius Cæsar*, who had appear'd to him in a private Road. Near *Perusia*, the first Sacrifice not succeeding, he commanded the Victims to be ‡ multiply'd; when the Enemy making a sudden Salley, and carrying off with them all the Preparation for the Solemnity, the Soothsayers agreed, that all the Mischiefs and Dangers which wou'd have been denounc'd to the Sacrificer,

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ficer,

* *Octavius*, *Mark Anthony* and *Lepidus*, who held a Consultation here, and agreed between themselves, to keep the Government in their Hands, as had been done before by *Julius Cæsar*, *Pompey* and *Crassus*.

† By these three Birds may be understood the three Confederates *Octavius*, *Anthony* and *Lepidus*; and the Crows falling upon the Eagle, as an Omen that the two last shou'd break with *Augustus*; and the Eagle, which was a Bird of Victory and Royalty, and was also the Roman Standard, by fixing upon his Pavilion shew'd, that *Augustus* shou'd prove a Conqueror, and obtain the Empire.

‡ See the Note on the Word *Auctus*, Pag. 62.

ficer, wou'd now fall upon them who had the Entrails in their Possession: which happen'd accordingly. The Day before he began the Sea-Fight at Sicily, as he was walking on the Shore, a * Fish leap'd out of the Sea, and lay at his Feet. As he was going to engage at *Asium*, he mett a little Ass with its Driver; the Name of the Man was † *Eutychus*, and the Beast's †† *Nium*. After the Victory he erected a Brazen Statue of both, in the ‡ Temple which he built on the Place where he had encamp'd.

97. His Death, which I shall now speak of, and his Divinity after Death, were made known by most apparent Tokens. When he was finishing a || *Lustrum* in the *Campus Martius* with a vast Concourse of the People, an Eagle flew round him several times, and passing to the next -| Temple, settled upon the Name of

* To signify the Subjection of the Sea, and that he shou'd have the Victory in the following Battel.

† i. e. Good Fortune.

†† i. e. Victory.

‡ See Pag. 72.

|| An expiatory Sacrifice call'd *Suovetaurilia*, consisting of a Sow, a Sheep, and a Bull, which was made at the Conclusion of a general Survey of the People in the *Campus Martius*, to implore the Favour and Protection of the Gods upon the Roman Affairs. This Survey was by Custom every Five Years; and hence the Word *Lustrum* came to signify that Term. At the Time also, the presiding Magistrates made and enter'd in a Book, solemn Vows for the Prosperity of the People, which were to be perform'd at the next *Lustrum*.

-| The Eagle was the Imperial Bird, and Augustus, who was Emperor, expected to be consecrated after his Death. He seems therefore to have constru'd this Accident thus, That the Eagle's perching in a Temple at the Letter A, which was also the first of his Name, was an Inaication that he shou'd shortly be taken from among Mortal Men, and made a God.

of Agrippa, at the first Letter; which being remark'd, he commanded his Collegue *Tiberius* to ordain the Vows it was the Custom to make against the next *Lustrum*. For tho' the Tablets in which they were enter'd, were all prepar'd, he refus'd to undertake Vows which he shou'd not live to perform. About the same Time, a Flash of Lightning melted off the first Letter of his Name in the Inscription on his Statue; and it was * answer'd, that he shou'd live but an hundred Days after it, the Number which was signify'd by the Letter C; and that he shou'd be admitted among the Gods, since in the *Etruscan* Language a God is call'd *ÆSAR*, the remaining Part of the Name of *Cæsar*. Intending therefore to dispatch *Tiberius* to *Illyricum*, and to accompany him as far as † *Beneventum*; and several breaking in upon him, and detaining him to give Judgment in one Cause and another, he cry'd out, and it was afterwards accounted among the Omens, *If all the Affairs of the World stood still, he wou'd see Rome no more*: And beginning his Journey, he went outright to †† *Astura*, and departed thence by Night, ‡ contrary to Custom, to take the Advantage of the Wind.

H 4

98. Having

* The *Augurs* here call'd in two Languages to their Assistance to make up this Answer. For C is a Latin Numeral, and *Æsar* is a Greek Word with an *Etruscan* Termination.

† A Town of Italy, originally call'd *Maleventum*, from the Tempestuous Winds with which it was infested.

†† An Island of Italy, situated upon a River of the same Name.

‡ *Suetonius* having said, Pag. 128, that *Augustus* generally travell'd by Night, this cannot signify his setting out from *Astura* by Night, was contrary to his Custom; but rather that his travelling so fast, and making so large a Stage, was so: Because in the same Place he also says, *Augustus's Journeys us'd to be leisurely and short*.

98. Having visited the Coasts of *Campania* and the neighbouring Islands, he spent four Days at *Caprea*, where he wholly resign'd himself to Ease and pleasurable Conversation. As he happen'd to pass by the Bay of *Puttoli*, the Freighters and Mariners of an *Alexandrine* Vessel which had put into the Port, as they were offering Frankincense, clad in White and crown'd with Garlands, heap'd all manner of good Wishes and Praises upon him, crying, that *they liv'd by Him, sail'd by Him, and by Him enjoy'd their Liberty and Fortunes*. His Spirits therefore being wonderfully elevated at this, he divided four hundred Crowns of Gold among his Train, and exacted an Oath and Security of every one not to lay out that Summ, but in purchasing the * Wares of *Alexandria*. Also for several Days together, among other Presents, he gave † Gowns and Clokes; upon Condition that the †† Romans shou'd use the *Grecian* Habit and Language, and the *Greeks* the *Roman*. He was continually seeing young Men exercise, of whom there was yet remaining a Number at *Caprea*, educated after the ‡ antient Manner; And these he entertain'd at a Banquet in his Presence, permitting, and even requiring them to take a Freedom of Joking, and of snatching away the Apples

* Spices, Paper, Flax, Lawn, &c.

† The Gown was the Roman Habit, and the Cloke the Grecian.

†† This relates only to those in Augustus's Train, and as *Sabellius* reasonably supposes, was design'd purely to create Diversion. For while Strangers, who were not in the Secret, wou'd at first sight certainly imagine the Grecians to be Romans by their Habit, and the Romans to be Grecians; it wou'd puzzle them in their Hearts what to make of it, when they heard the Romans speaking broken Greek, and the Grecians murdering the Latin Tongue.

‡ The Grecians, from whom the Romans borrow'd these Exercises.

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Apples and other Dishes, which it was usual for the Guests to send from Table to their absent Friends. In a Word, he forbore no manner of Merriment. The Illand next to *Caprea* he call'd "*Angu-
stina*", from the Sloth of those who retir'd thither out of his Retinue.

99. One of his Favourites† *Moffatar* by Name, us'd to call † *Kisaw*, as if he had been the Founder of the Island. And observing once from his Parlour the Tomb of this *Moffatar*, who had been dead a Year, was frequented by a prodigious Crowd with a Multitude of Lights, he pronounc'd aloud this Verse which he made *Extempore*,

Κτίσις δ' ἡμεῶν ἀποδοτέα παρέσθαι.

I see the Founder's Tomb is all on Fire.

And turning to * *Thraffillus*, *Tiberius's* Companion,
H. C. who

* *The City of Idleness.*

† Augustus having exchange'd with the Neapolitans for the Island Caprea, employ'd Mafgabaz to put it into a good Posture, and to stock it with Inhabitants: And because he was the Officer who immediately appear'd in this Affair, the People look'd upon him as the Founder of the Place, and accordingly paid him these Honours at his Tomb. Augustus merrily gave him this Name, to laugh at that Popular Opinion; and the Verses he made here, are to be understood also in the same facetious Sense.

†† The Founder.

A Professor of Wisdom, and a noted Astrologer. Tiberius, with whom he was very intimate at Rhodes, was once on the point of making him pay very dear for his Skill. (See his Life § 14.) Casaubon says that he profess'd Philosophy, and not the Curious Arts; but 'tis certain the Roman Writers represent him as a Fortune-teller. For Suetonius expressly calls him Mathematicus, and Juvenal mentions him as a Man eminent in the Art.

— numeris revocata Thrasylli. *Sac. 6.*

who was at Table and knew nothing of the Matter, he ask'd him, What Poet's he took that Verse to be? *Thrasyllus* hesitating upon it, he added another,

Ὅσας γὰρ τὸν Μασγάβαν πυρσίδων.

See how for *Masgabas* the Torches shine!

And then putting the Question to him again, and *Thrasyllus* returning no other Answer, than *Whosoever the Verses were, they were very good*: he set up a * Laugh, and rally'd him extremely. He afterwards pass'd over to *Naples*, tho' his Bowels were grown weak by the Course of the Distemper; yet he beheld the five Years Athletick Games which were instituted in his Honour, and went forward with *Tiberius* to the † Place intended. But the Disease increasing upon him in his Return, he at length sunk under it at *Nola*: And calling back *Tiberius* from his Journey, he held him a long Time in private Discourse; after which he suffer'd no Business of Importance to engage his Thoughts.

100. The last Day of his Life, having enquir'd several times, whether there was any Tumult abroad upon his Account, he ‡ call'd for a Looking-glass

* *Augustus* laugh'd to see how he had puzzled a boasted Professor of Knowledge, and a Conjuror.

† *Beneventum*.

‡ *Julius Caesar's* covering himself with his Robe, so as not to have his Body expos'd in his Fall, was a just and decent Care. And there is a kind of Greatness in *Vespasian's* raising himself upon his Feet when he was expiring, crying out, An Emperor ought to die standing. But this seems an effeminate Vanity in *Augustus*, to be so nice in adjusting his Features at so important an Hour. His Question to his Friends, shews the high Opinion he had of his own Conduct: And as by his Expression he regarded Life

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glass, and ordering his Hair to be comb'd, and his fallen Cheeks to be handsomely compos'd, he ask'd his Friends who were now admitted, *Whether in their Opinion he had not play'd the Part of Life well?* and added this Close,

Ἐὶ δὲ νῦν, ἔγωγε τῶν περὶ τοῦ
Δόνα κείνου, ὃς μέγας ὕμνος μετὰ χαρῆς κινουμένη

Then if the Play your Approbation draws,
Clap all, and stamp, and crown it with Applause.

And the Company being put out, while he examin'd some who were arriv'd from the City, concerning Drusus's Daughter, who was sick, he expir'd suddenly amidst the * Kisses of Livia with these Words,

Livia,

Life as a Farce, in which he had perform'd a Mimic, it was continuing the Character of a Player, to set himself off to the best Advantage to the Spectators, and beg their Applause at his closing up his Part and finally quitting the Stage.

* It was a general Custom with the Antients, for the nearest Relation or Friend to embrace the expiring Person, and receive the last Breath in a Kiss.

———extremus liquid superhalitus errat,
Ore legam. Virg.

———while I in Death
Lay close my Lips to hers, and catch the flying Breath.
Mr. Dryden.

Notwithstanding this Tenderness of Livia to Augustus in his last moments, Tacitus says, she was suspected to have been the Cause of his Death. For, understanding there had been an Interview between Augustus and Agrippa, she was jealous lest Agrippa should come into Favour again, and her Son Tiberius be excluded the Succession; and therefore to secure the Matter, Dion Cassius says, she poison'd her Husband, and conceal'd his Death, till Tiberius was arriv'd to take Possession.

Livia, † live mindful of our Marriage, and farewell; making an easy Exit, and such an one as he had always desir'd: For whenever he heard any departed quickly and without Pain, he generally wish'd himself and his might have the same †† *Euthanasia*, for that was his usual Expression. He gave only one Sign of a Delirium before he breath'd his last, which was, that falling into a sudden Confirmation, he complain'd he was carry'd away by forty young Men. But this was rather a Presage than a Phrenzy; for so many *Prætorian* Soldiers bore him out to his Funerals. He dy'd in the same * Chamber as his Father *Octavius*; the two *Sexti*, *Pompey* and *Aspicius*, being Consuls; on the ‡ Fourteenth of the *Kalends* of *September*, at the †† Ninth Hour of the Day, and in the Seventy-sixth Year of his Age, wanting five and Thirty Days.

101. The Heads of the Corporations and Colonies carry'd the Corps from †† *Nila* to * *Bouilla*, travelling

† Whether *Livia* were sincere or not, 'tis certain she had the Art of engaging *Augustus's* Affection intirely, and preserv'd it to the last. This final Charge shews, *Augustus* was full of the Happiness of their Marriage; and it gave him no Compunction that he had so scandalously turn'd her from the Arms of her former Husband, even when she was big with Child.

†† An easy Death.

* According to *Tacitus*, he dy'd also on the same Day on which he came to the Possession of the Empire; and therefore it is no Wonder, if these Circumstances are true, that they made a deep Impression on the Minds of the People.

‡ August 19th.

†† Three of the Clock in the Afternoon.

‡‡ A Town of *Campania* in Italy, near *Vesuvius*; of a Grecian Original, and once strongly fortify'd.

Hinc ad *Chalcidicam* transfert citus agmine *No-*
lam, &c. *Sil. Ital.* From

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King with it by † Night, because of the Season of the Year; and in the Day-time it was repos'd in the publick Hall of each Town, or in the principal † Temple. From *Bowile* the * *Equestrian* Order took it up and bore it to the City, and plac'd it in the †† Porch of his own House. In appointing his Funeral

*From hence, with hasty March, his Troops he leads
To Nola, seated in fair Champion Meads:
Firm are the Walls, and compass'd round with Tow'rs,
And a deep Trench the level Plain secures.*

* *A Town of Latium in Italy. Tacitus says there was a Sacrifice built there to the Julian Family, and an Image erected to Augustus Cæsar.*

† *The Heats in the Summer being so excessive, that Travellers are oblig'd to lie by in the Day, and pursue their Journey by Night with Torches. 'Tis to this Custom the Simile in Ovid refers.*

*Ut facibus sepes ardent, quas forte viator
Vel nimis admovit, vel jam sub luce reliquit.*

*As nightly Travellers, when Day returns,
Their useles Torches on dry Hedges throw,
That catch the Flame, and kindle all the Row.*

Mr. Dryden.

† *The Contact of a Dead Body was thought to carry a certain Pollution in it: But as Augustus was to be admitted into the Number of the Gods, they might perhaps imagine his Divinity render'd his Corps pure, and prevented it from conveying any Uncleanness by the Touch.*

* *The having the Body carry'd by Persons of Rank and Quality, was a particular Honour; and thus Augustus's is borne here by the Knights, and at the Time of the Burning by the Senators.*

†† *It was a Custom to expose the Body in the Porch, that it might appear to all Persons to have dy'd a Natural Death.*

neral Poms, and the Honours to be paid to his Memory, the Senate was transported with such Emulation and Zeal, that, among other Things, some propos'd the Procession shou'd be made thro' the * Triumphant Gate, preceded by the Image of *Victory*, which stands in the *Julian Court*, Princes Children of both Sexes singing the *Dirge*; others, that on the Day of the Obsequies, the Nobles shou'd put off their † Gold Rings and wear Iron ones; and some, that his ‡ Bones shou'd be gather'd up by the Priests of the †† Principal Colleges; and One wou'd have perswaded them, to transfer the Name of *August* from that Month to the Month of *September*, because *Augustus* was born in this, and dy'd in the former: And another Person mov'd, that all the Time from the Day of his Nativity to his Death, shou'd be styl'd the *AUGUST AGE*, and be so enter'd in the *† *Fa-fsi*. But some Moderation being at last observ'd in the Honours, he was rais'd in two Orations; by *Tiberius* before the Temple of *Julius Caesar*, and at the †† *Rostra sub Veteribus* by *Tiberius's* Son *Drusus*, and his Body

* Call'd so, because the Triumphs enter'd thro' it.

† The Quality wore Gold Rings, and the Common People Iron. The Nobles therefore, to express the Greatness of their Sorrow, were to throw off this distinguishing Ornament, and put themselves upon a Level with the Vulgar.

‡ The Bones were gather'd up after the Burning, to be inclos'd in an Urn, and preserv'd.

†† They were Four in Number, the College of the Pontifices, the Augurs, the Epulones, and the College of the Fifteen, who kept the Sybilline Oracles.

*† The *Kalendar*, which contain'd the Feasts, and Holidays, &c.

†† The *Rostra* were spacious Places for publick Harangues, adorn'd with the Beaks of Ships taken from the Enemy, in Latin, *Rostrum*; from whence the Name. The *Rostrum* here mention'd, is thought to have been just by the old Shops of private Bankers, and therefore call'd *Rostra sub Veteribus*.

OCTAVIUS CÆSAR AUGUSTUS. 149

Body was then carry'd on the Senators Shoulders into the Field, and burnt. Nor was there wanting a Person of the *Pretorian* Rank, who * swore he saw his Likeness ascend up into Heaven. The chief of the *Equeſtrian* Order ſtrip'd themselves into their Tunics, and ungirt and bare-footed, collected his Remains, and bury'd them in the *Mauſoleum*, a Monument which *Augustus* had himself erected in his sixth Conſulate, between the *Flaminian* Way and the Banks of the *Tiber*, and had given the Woods and Walks adjoining to it for the Uſe of the People.

102. His Teſtament was produc'd, which he made a Year and four Months before he dy'd, on the third of the † Ides of *April*, in the Conſulſhip of *L. Plancus* and *C. Silius*. It was conſiſting of †† two Scrolls, and was written partly by his own Hand, and partly by his Freedmen *Polybius* and *Hilarian*, and was depoſited with ſix Veſtal Virgins, together with three Inſtruments, ſeal'd exactly like the Will. All theſe were open'd in the Senate, and read. The firſt Heirs he appointed were *Tiberius* for a Half and a ſixth Part, and *Livia* for a third, whom he alſo commanded to bear his Name. The ſecondary Heirs were *Tiberius's* Son *Drufus* for a third Part, and *Germanicus* and his three Male-Children for the Remainder. In the third Degree were a great many Relations and Friends.

* So at the Death of *Romulus*, to put the Matter poſt Queſtion, *Proculus* ſwore roundly that he ſaw him aſcend into Heaven. The preſent Evidence, according to *Dion Caſſius*, was *Numerius*; and he ſays, *Livia* gave him Ten Hundred Thouſand *Seſterces* as a Reward for his Depoſition.

† *April the 11th*, in the Year of Rome 765.

†† *Duobus Codicibus*. The Expoſition offer'd by *Caſaubon* is certainly juſt, that by *duos Codices* are meant not two ſeveral Copies but one Copy conſiſting of two Skins of Parchment, written partly by *Augustus* himſelf, and partly by his two Servants. For ſince *Suetonius* ſays, the Will was lodg'd with the Veſtal Virgins alone, there cou'd be no Reaſon for making Duplicates of it.

Friends: To the Roman People he left Four * Millions of Sesterces; to the Tribes, † Three Millions and a Half; to the †† Pretorian Soldiers, a Thousand Pieces a Man; to the City Cohorts, Five Hundred, and to the Legionaries Three Hundred; which Summ he order'd to be paid immediately, having always reserv'd it ready in the Treasury. The other Legacies he appointed to be receiv'd at various Times, descending in some to †† Twenty Thousand Sesterces, to be paid annually on one particular Day; excusing the Smallness of his Estate, and protesting that there wou'd not come to his Heirs above a †† Hundred and Fifty Millions of Sesterces; tho' in the last twenty Years of his Life he had receiv'd x Four Thousand Millions, by the Testaments of his Friends; almost all which, with two Paternal Patrimonies and other Inheritances he had expended upon the Republick. He forbid his Daughter and his Grand-Daughter Julia, whenever they shou'd happen to die, to be bury'd in his Sepulchre. Of the three Instruments mention'd above, in one he compris'd his Directions concerning his Funerals; in the other, a Series of his Atchievements, which he desir'd might be engrav'd in Tables of Brass, and plac'd before his Mausoleum; and in the third was contain'd an Abstract of the State of the whole Empire, what Number of Troops were in every Part; what Money was in the Treasury and in the Chest of Confiscations; and what Arrears of Tributes were standing out. He added also the Names of the Freedmen and Slaves, whom it might be proper to call to Account.

* 1000000 Crowns, according to Budæus's Valuation.

† 87500.

†† The Pretorian Cohort was first constituted by Scipio Numantinus; the Number was afterwards increas'd, and these Troops were the Emperor's Life-Guard.

†† 500 Crowns. †† 3750000 Crowns. x 35000000.

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Tiberius Nero Caesar.



THE * *Claudian* Family among the † *Patricians* (for there was one of this Name also among the *Plebeians*, no Way inferior in Power and Dignity) came originally from *Regilla*, a Town of the *Sabines*; from whence it was transplanted

* *Virgil* made this Family the Compliment of deducing them from *Clausus*, a *Sabine* General, who furnish'd a Body of Troops for *Turnus's* Aid against *Aeneas*.

*Ecce Sabinorum prisco de sanguine magnum
Agmen agens Clausus, &c.*

*Then Clausus came, who led a num'rous Band
Of Troops embody'd from the Sabine Land,
And in Himself alone an Army brought:
That He the Noble Claudian Race begot,
The Claudian Race, ordain'd, in Times to come,
To save the Greatness of Imperial Rome.*

Mr. Dryden.

† The *Patrician* House of the *Claudii* bore the Surname of *Fulcher*, and the *Plebeian* of *Marcellus*.

planted to Rome with a great Number of Dependents, at the first Building of the City, by the Means of † Titus Tatius, who was Collegue with Romulus: Or, which seems better attested, it was made Patri-
cian by the Senate, about six Years after the Expul-
 sion of the Kings, † Atta Claudius being then the
 Head

† He was King of the Sabines, at the Time when Ro-
 mulus and his Romans committed the Rape on the Sa-
 bine Women. The Quarrel being peaceably terminated
 between them, Tatius remov'd from Cures, the Town where
 he resided, to Rome, and was admitted Partner in the
 Government with Romulus, and the two Nations were em-
 body'd: But Tatius dy'd in a short Time, being murder'd,
 it was thought, by Romulus, who did not like a Collegue.
 Virgil has describ'd the Story of the Rape upon Æneas's
 Shield, which Vulcan made for him at the Desire of
 Venus.

*Nec procul hinc Romam, & raptas sine more
 Sabinas, &c.*

*Not far from thence new Rome appears, with Games
 Projected for the Rape of Sabine Dames.
 The Pit resounds with Shrieks, a War succeeds,
 For Breach of publick Faith, and unexampl'd Deeds.
 Here Tatius and his Sabine Troops contend,
 The Romans there with Arms the Prey defend;
 Weary'd with tedious War, at length they cease,
 And both the Kings and Kingdoms plight the Peace.
 The friendly Chiefs before Jove's Altar stand,
 Both arm'd, with each a Charger in his Hand;
 A fatted Sow for Sacrifice is led,
 With Imprecations on the Perjur'd Head.*

Mr. Dryden.

† His Sabine Name was Atta Clausus; after his Set-
 tlement among the Romans, he was call'd Appius Clau-
 dius. He was born at Regillum, and his Countrymen
 resolving

Head of the Family. A Space of Country beyond the † *Anien*, was publickly allotted for his Adherents, and a Burial-place for himself under the Capitol. In Length of Time this Family had Twenty eight Consuls, five Dictators, seven Censors, seven who Triumph'd, and two who had receiv'd Ovarations. And whereas it was distinguish'd by various * *Prænomen* and *Cognomina*, the *Prænomen* of *Lucius* was rejected by Consent; because of two of that Name, one had been convicted of Robbery, and the other of Murder. Among its *Cognomina* it assum'd that of *Nero*, which in the *Sabine* Language signifies *Valiant* and *Strong*. 2. Many

resolving, contrary to the Persuasion, to make War on the Romans, he left the Town, and remov'd to Rome with Five Thousand Families.

† A *Sabine* River. It parted the Sabines from the Latins, and mix'd with the Tiber. Horace and Statius call it the swift *Anien*:

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Vos mihi quæ Latium, septenaq; culmina Nym-
Incolitis, Tyberimq; novis extollitis undis
Quas præceps *Anien*, &c. Statius.

*Te River-Nymphs, whose copious-flowing Rills
Latium supply, and feed the Roman Hills,
And with new Streams the lordly Tiber swell,
Or in the Fount of rapid Anien dwell.*

And Virgil the cold, or dewy,

————— gelidumq; *Anien*.

Beside the Succour which cold *Anien* yields.

Mr. Dryden.

* The Romans who were free-born had three Names, a *Prænomen*, a *Nomen*, and a *Cognomen*. The first answers to our Christian-Name, the *Nomen* was the standing Name of the Family, and the *Cognomen* was added to distinguish the Families, and was also Hereditary.

2. Many honourable Actions, which deserv'd well of the Publick, are recorded of several of the *Claudii*; and many which were otherwise. To mention only the chief. † *Appius Cæcus* dissuaded making an Alliance with King *Pyrrhus*, as a Thing unsafe in its Consequence. *Claudius* * *Caudex* was the first who sail'd a Fleet thro' the *Streights*, and expell'd the *Carthaginians* out of *Sicily*. And *Claudius Nero* cut off *Asdrubal*, coming with a great Body of Recruits from *Spain*, before he cou'd join his Brother *Hannibal*. On the other hand, †† *Claudius Appius Regillanus*, who was one of the *Decemviri* for compiling a Body of Laws, attempting by violent Means to cause a Free Virgin to be pronounc'd a Slave, that she might be subjected to his Lust, occasion'd the Commons to separate a second time from the Nobility. *Claudius Drusus*, having his Statue erected at *Appii-Forum* with a Diadem, endeavour'd to possess himself of *Italy* by means of his Dependents and Vassals. And *Claudius Pulcher*, when the Chickens which were us'd in Divination, refus'd to feed, threw them over-board in Contempt of the Religious Rites; as if he had resolv'd, since they wou'd not eat, they shou'd drink, and immediately began the Sea-Fight at *Sicily*: And being routed, when the Senate order'd him to name a Dictator, as if he wou'd again make

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† The Name of *Cæcus* was given him from his Misfortune of losing his Sight, which the Romans esteem'd as the Punishment of the Gods upon him, for dispensing with the Priests, the *Potitii*, serving in Person, according to the Duty of their Order. When he was Censor, he pass'd that noble Road from *Rome* to *Brundisium*, which is yet remaining, and is call'd from him the *Appian-Way*.

* *Seneca* says, he had the Name of *Caudex* from first introducing the Use of Ships among the Romans.

†† He was the Son of *Appius Claudius*, who came from *Regillum*. He was depriv'd of his Office for this Piece of Injustice, and committed to *Drusus*, where he took Poison and dy'd.

a Jest of the publick Danger, he appointed *Hyrcius*, his Messenger. The Women of the Family have also afforded Instances in either Kind. For of this House were the two *Claudia*; both she who set free the Ship which carry'd the Utenfils of the Mother of the Gods, when it was stranded in the *Tiber*, having openly requested, *That the Vess.l might follow her, if she had preserv'd her * Chastity*; and the other, who was condemn'd for Treason by the People, after an unprecedented Manner, tho' a Woman, because her Chariot being scarcely able to move on thro' a prodigious Croud, she was heard to wish her Brother *Pulcher* were alive again to lose another Fleet, that there might be less thronging at *Rome*. And except *Publius Clodius*, who submitted to be adopted by a *Plebeian*, who was also much † younger than himself, in order to get †† *Cicero* expell'd the City; 'tis certain, the whole Family were always of Noble Rank, and were strenuous Assertors of the Dignity and Power of the *Patricians*, and treated the Populace with such inveterate Disdain, that no one of them, tho' under a Capital Sentence from the Commons, wou'd condescend so much as to change his Cloaths, or ask them to repeal the Judgment. And some of them once in a publick Squabble beat the Tribunes. Also a Vestal Virgin of their House, when her Brother began a Triumph without the Permission of the People, went up to him into his Chariot, and accompany'd him to the Capitol, that it might not be

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* She had been accus'd of Incontinence. After this Supplication, she is said to have fasten'd her Girdle to the Ship, and to have drawn it along to the Harbour.

† This was against the Laws of Adoption. For it being impossible a Man shou'd be Son to one Younger than himself, this Circumstance, *Justinian* says, ought to be observ'd in Adoption, which is an Imitation of Nature.

†† See Page 12.

in the Power of the Tribunes to interpose and stop the Procession.

3. From this Stem *Tiberius Caesar* on each side deriv'd his Line, taking his Paternal from *Tiberius Nero*, and his Maternal from *Appius Pulcher*, who were both the Sons of *Appius Cæcus*. He was related also to the *Livian* Family, his Mother's Grandfather being adopted into it. Tho' this Family was indeed *Plebeian*, yet it made a considerable Figure, producing eight Consuls, two Censors, and three Persons who Triumph'd. It receiv'd also the Honour of the Dictatorship, with the Command of Master of the Horse; and was distinguish'd for several Illustrious Men, particularly *Salinator* and the *Drusii*. *Salinator*, in his Censorship, roundly rally'd all the Tribes for their Levity; because that after they had impos'd a large * Fine upon him upon his first Consulate, they chose him repeatedly Consul and Censor. And *Drusus* having slain *Drusus*, the Enemy's General, in single Combat, had the Surname continu'd to himself and his Posterity: And 'tis reported, when he was Pro-Pretor, he brought back from *Gaul* the † Gold which was paid out to the *Senones*, when they besieg'd the Capitol, and which, they say, *Camillus* did not make them refund. His Great Grandson, who for his vigorous Opposition of the †† *Gracchi*, was styl'd the

Patron

* He was fin'd, for not having made an equal Division of the Booty among the Souldiers.

† As the Romans were weighing out a Sum of Gold to the Gauls for their Ransom, *Camillus* with a Body of Troops fell in upon the Enemy by Surprise, beat them out of the City, and, according to *Livy* and *Plutarch*, took the Gold from them on the Spot.

†† *Tiberius* and *Caius Gracchus*, two Brothers. *Tiberius*, to please the Populace, caus'd the Laws for dividing the Lands taken from the Enemy, among the Commons, call'd the *Agrarian Laws*, to be reviv'd. The Nobles op-

pos'd

TIBERIUS NERO CÆSAR. 167

Patron of the Senate, left a Son, who was treacherously kill'd by the contrary Faction, as he was making several Attempts in a like Dissention.

4. The Father of *Tiberius*, who was Questor to *Julius Cæsar*, commanded the Fleet in the *Alexandrine War*, and contributed very much towards the Victory. Wherefore he was chosen High Priest, in the Room of *P. Scipio*, and was sent to lead over a Colony to *Gaul*; in which Colony *Narbo* and *Arelate* were comprehended. Yet when upon the Murder of *Cæsar*, all Men in Fear of Confusions, voted for an Act of Oblivion, he was for passing a Bill even to appoint a Premium for those who had slain the Tyrant. At the Expiration of his Pretorship, a Dispute happening between the Triumvirs in the Close of the Year, he kept the * Ensigns of his Office beyond the limited Time, and follow'd *L. Anthony* the Consul, Brother of the Triumvir, to *Pelusia*; and when every one else submitted, he stood out alone, and would not abandon his Party. He retir'd first to *Preneste*, then to *Naples*; and having in vain invited the Slaves to list under him, with offering them their Liberty, he fled to *Sicily*: But resenting that *Sextus Pompey* did not immediately admit him to his Presence, and that he was forbidden to use the *Fasces*, he went over to *Mark Anthony* in *Achaia*; and a general Reconciliation being quickly form'd between the several † Parties, he came back to *Rome* with him, and at the Desire of *Augustus*, gave up to him his Wife *Livia Drusilla*, who was then great with Child, and had

pos'd him, and the Dispute was carry'd so far, that *Publius Nasica* dash'd out *Tiberius's* Brains, as he was making a Speech to the People. His Brother *Caius* pursuing the same Design, was taken and put to Death two Years after, by the Order of *Opimius* the Consul.

* The Ensigns of his Office, as Pretor; which he still retain'd, tho' his Magistracy was expir'd.

† *Sextus Pompey* and the new Triumvirs:

had already borne him a †† Son; and not long after he dy'd, leaving behind him both his Sons, *Tiberius* and *Drusus Nero*.

5. Some have been led by a groundless Conceit, to think *Tiberius* was born at * *Funda*, because his Maternal Grandmother was of that Place, and because an Image of *Felicity* was shortly after erected there by a Decree of the Senate. But, as a greater Number with more Certainty affirm, he was born at *Rome* in the Palace, on the † sixteenth of the Kalends of *December*, *M. Æmilius Lepidus* being a second time Consul, with *L. Munatius Plancus*, after the War of *Phillipi*: For it is enter'd thus in the *Fasti* and the Publick Acts. Nor have some been wanting who said he was born the preceding Year, in the Consulate of *Hirtius* and *Pansa*; and others, in the Year following, when *Servilius Isauricus* and *Anthony* were Consuls.

6. His Infancy and Childhood were full of Toil and Hazard, he being made the constant Companion of his Parents in their Flights. At *Naples*, while they striving to get privately on Board, as the Enemy was rushing into the Town, he had almost twice betray'd them by his Crying; once as he was snatch'd from the Nurse's Breast, and another time from his Mother's Arms, by some who in the present Exigence endeavour'd to ease the poor Women of their Load. He was convey'd thro' *Sicily* and *Achaia*, and entrusted to the Publick Protection of the *Lacedæmonians*, who were under the Patronage of the *Claudian* Family; from whence as he was departing by Night,

†† *Tiberius*. His Mother *Livia* was with Child of his Brother *Drusus*, when her Husband surrender'd her up to *Augustus*; within three Months after which, *Drusus* was born.

* A Town of *Latium Novum*, seated by a Lake, which was nam'd from the Town, the *Fundane* Lake.

† November the 16th.

Night, he came into Danger of his Life; for a Flame breaking suddenly out of the Woods, surrounded the whole Company so closely, that *Livia's* Hair and part of her Garment were burnt. The Toys which were presented him by *Pompeia*, the Sister of *Sextus Pompey*, in *Sicily*, the Scarf with the Clasp, and the Golden * *Bulle*, are still preserv'd, and are shewn at *Baia*. After his Return to *Rome*, being adopted by *Marcus* † *Gallius*, a Senator, in his Will, he took Possession of the Inheritance, but forbore to assume the Name, because *Gallius* had always sided with the Enemies of *Augustus*. He pronounc'd a Funeral Oration from the *Rostræ*, when he was Nine Years old, in Praise of his Father: And at the Age of a Youth he accompany'd *Augustus's* Chariot in his *Actian* Triumph, riding on his Left Hand on a Horse nobly caparison'd, while *Octavia's* Son ** *Marcellus* was mounted upon another on the Right.

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* See the Note p. 53.

† 'Tis likely he was a near Relation of *Q. Gallius* the Pretor, whom *Augustus* inhumanly put to Death without any Reason; and this might provoke him to be *Augustus's* Enemy. See p. 79.

** *Octavia* was *Augustus's* Sister; she was marry'd first to *Caius Marcellus*, and afterwards to *Mark Anthony*, who abus'd her in a very scandalous Degree. She surviv'd him, and liv'd with her Brother in great Favour, after he was possess'd of the Empire. By her first Husband she had her Son *Marcellus*, a Youth of such great and amiable Qualifications, that he was the Darling of the Roman People; and *Augustus* design'd to make him his Successor, but he dy'd untimely at *Baia* in the Eighteenth Year of his Age, universally lamented: For the crafty Empress *Livia* was determin'd to make the Succession fall on her own Son *Tiberius*. The Panegyrick on this *Marcellus*, in the Sixth Book of *Virgil's Æneis*, is so beautiful, that I shall venture to insert it here at length.

He also presided at the *Athen* Games, and at the
Trojan

length, having acquainted the Reader, that when he re-
hears'd it before Augustus and Octavia, it threw them
into Tears and a Fit of the most passionate Sorrow, and that
Octavia afterwards presented the Poet with above Two
Thousands Pounds for his Verses.

Atque hic Æneas (una namque ire videbat, &c.

Æneas, here, beheld of Form Divine
A Godlike Youth, in glitt'ring Armour shine :
With great Marcellus, keeping equal Pace ;
But glossy were his Eyes, dejected was his Face.
He saw, and wond'ring, ask'd his airy Guide,
What, and of whence was he, who press'd the Hero's Side ?
His Son, or one of his Illustrious Name,
How like the former, and almost the same.
Observe the Crowds that compass him around ;
All gaze, and all admire, and raise a shouting Sound.
But heaving Mists around his Brows are spread,
And Night, with sable Shades, invades his Head.
Seek not to know (the Ghost reply'd with Tears)
The Sorrows of thy Sons in future Tears.
This Youth (the blissful Vision of a Day)
Shall just be shown on Earth, and snatch'd away.
The Gods too high had rais'd the Roman State,
Were but their Gifts as permanent as great.
What Groans of Men shall fill the Martian Field !
How fierce a Blaze his flaming Pile shall yield !
What Fun'ral Pomp shall floating Tiber see,
When, rising from his Bed, he views the sad Solemnity !
No Youth shall equal Hopes of Glory give :
No Youth afford so great a Cause to grieve.
The Trojan Honour, and the Roman Boast ;
Admir'd when living, and ador'd when lost !
Mirror of Ancient Faith in early Youth !
Undaunted Worth, Inevitable Truth !

No

TIBERIUS NERO CÆSAR. 171

Trojan Exercise in the *Circus*, and led up the Troop of greater Boys.

7. After he had assum'd the Virile Gown, his whole Youth, and the following Part of his Age to the time of his succeeding to the Government, was mostly employ'd in Things of this Kind: He gave two Shews of Gladiators in Honour of his Father's Memory, and of his Grandfather *Drusus's*, at different Times and in different Places; for the first was in the Forum, and the last in the Amphitheatre; and in them he procur'd, at a Premium of a * Hundred Thousand Sesterces, several Swordsmen, who had receiv'd their Discharge, † to come upon the Stage again. He also exhibited Games, but was not present at the Performance. These were all very magnificent, and the Expence of them was borne

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by

No Foe unpunish'd in the fighting Field,
Shall dare Thee Foot to Foot, with Sword and Shield;
Much less, in Arms oppose thy matchless Force,
When thy sharp Spurs shall urge thy foaming Horse.
Ah! couldst thou break thro' Fate's severe Decree,
A new Marcellus shall arise in Thee!
Full Canisters of fragrant Lillies bring,
Mix'd with the Purple Roses of the Spring:
Let me with Fun'ral Flow'rs his Body grow;
This Gift, which Parents to their Children owe,
This unavailing Gift, at least, I may bestow!

Mr. Dryden.

* Two thousand and Five hundred Crowns.

† Gladiators receiv'd their Discharge either on Account of Age, or of having fought bravely and won many Victories. These were certainly of the last sort; for Tiberius wou'd never have given such a Summ to a Company of decrepit old Fellows. The Reason why it cost him so high a Premium, undoubtedly was, because those who had already receiv'd the Publick Testimony of their Honour were very unwilling to hazard their Reputation again.

by his Mother and his Father-in-Law. He marry'd *Agrippina*, the Daughter of *Marcus Agrippa*, and Grand-Daughter of *Pompeius* † *Atticus*, a Roman Knight, to whom there are several Epistles of *Cicero* extant. After he had his Son *Drusus* by her, tho' she was every way agreeable, and was then again great with Child, he was forc'd to dismiss her, and to take *Augustus's* Daughter *Julia*; but it was with the utmost Reluctance; for their Conversation had endear'd *Agrippina* to him, and he dislik'd *Julia's* Manners, having observ'd that she had made prompt Advances to him in the time of her former Husband. But after the Divorce was finish'd, he deeply repented that he had sent *Agrippina* away; and seeing her once by Accident, he view'd her so languishingly, and pursu'd her with his Eyes in so passionate a Manner, that particular Care was taken she shou'd never come into his sight again. At first he liv'd quietly with *Julia*, and in mutual Love; but he soon

† *Atticus* liv'd in the Time of the Civil Wars of Rome; and that unconfus'd Humanity and Benevolence he shew'd to the Unfortunate and Necessitous of both Parties, without distinction, has procur'd him a most beautiful Character, both from the Antients and Moderns, who mention him with wonderful Encomiums. Yet, I can't but think, his Example has been sometimes misapply'd, by producing it to argue, that Persons of extraordinary Abilities and high Rank may sit still unconcern'd Spectators, when the Fate of their Country is depending between two contrary Parties, of which the one is asserting the Rights and Laws, and the other is attempting to destroy them; because this must proceed from a Want of publick Virtue and Principles truly generous. The Neutrality of *Atticus* is of a different Kind; since *Sylla* and *Marius*, and *Pompey* and *Caesar*, were all in the wrong, and fought for their own Ambition and Revenge, and not for the Roman Liberties and Constitution; and consequently an honest Man might justly forbear to take part with either.

soon separated from her; and the Misunderstanding proceeded so far, that he always lay apart: For their Son, the Pledge of their common Affection, was early snatch'd away, dying in Infancy at *Aquila*, where he was born. He also lost his Brother *Drusus* in Germany, whose Corps he brought back to Rome, marching on foot before it all the Way.

8. At his entring upon Publick Affairs, he defended, in several Causes which he pleaded before *Augustus*, King *Archelus*, the *Trallians*, and the *Thesſalians*. He ſollicit'd the Senate for the People of *Landicea*, *Thyatira*, and *Chios*, who had suffer'd by an Earthquake, and were imploring Help. *Fannius Cæpio*, who had conspir'd against *Augustus* at *Murena*, with *Varro*, he prov'd guilty of High-Treason before the Judges, and got him condemn'd. At the same Time alſo he executed a double Office with which he was charg'd; the Care of the Publick Stores of Corn, which happen'd then to be very ſcarce, and of reforming the Work-houſes over all *Italy*, the Maſters of which were under a ſcandalous Name, for detaining there not only Vagrants, who properly belong'd to them, but others alſo, whom the Fear of being Impreſt into the Service induc'd to ſhelter themſelves in thoſe Privacies.

9. The firſt Military Poſt he ſuſtain'd, was a Tribune's, in the *Cantabrian Expedition*; from whence, marching the Army into the Eaſt, he reſtor'd the Kingdom of *Armenia* to *Tigranes*, and put the Diadem upon his Head in a full Court. He alſo recover'd the † Enſigns, which the *Parthians* had taken from *Marcus Craſſus*. After this, for about a Year, he govern'd *Gallia Comata*, which was greatly in-

I 3

teſted

* The Expedition which *Augustus* made againſt the People of *Cantabria*. See p. 73, 82.

† This was done in the Reign of *Augustus*, *Tiberius* demanding theſe Enſigns in *Augustus's* Name. See pag. 74.

feſted by the Incurſions of the Barbarians, and diſturb'd with the Diſcords of its own Princes. He afterwards manag'd the *Rhetian* War, the *Vindelican*, the *Pannonian*, and the *German*. In the War with the *Rhetii* and *Vindelici*, he ſubdu'd the Nations who live in the *Alps*; and in the *Pannonian*, the *Breuci* and the *Dalmatians*: And in the *German* War, he transported into *Gaul* forty Thouſand Men, who had ſurrender'd themſelves into his Hands, and ſeated them on the Banks of the *Rhine*, where he allotted them Lands. For theſe Actions he enter'd the City * in a Chariot, even in an Ovation, and was the firſt, as ſome think, who was honour'd with the Triumphant Ornaments, a new kind of Dignity, which was never allow'd to any Man before. He aſſum'd the Magiſtracies very early, and ran thro' the ſeveral Degrees of them almoſt at once; as the *Queſture*, the *Pretorſhip*, and the *Conſulate*; and after a Space he receiv'd the *Conſulate* a ſecond time, and held the *Tribuneſhip* five Years.

10. While a Flood of good Fortune was breaking in upon him together, and he was in the Prime of his Age and a perfect State of Health, he ſuddenly form'd a Reſolution to retire and withdraw as far as poſſible from Buſineſs and publick Notice. It is doubtful whether this proceeded from an Aversion to his Wife, whom he neither dar'd to accuſe, or to diſmiſs, nor cou'd any longer ſuſtain; or whether it was to avoid the Cheapneſs and Diſregard which the Familiarity of a daily Converſation naturally occaſions, and to improve his Intereſt by Abſence, whenever his

* Contrary to the Original Cuſtom; by which the General in an Ovation walk'd on Foot, or ſometimes, tho' very ſeldom, rode on Horſeback. But *Tiberius* had the Honour in this Ovation to enter the City in a Chariot, which was proper only to a Triumph; and to receive alſo the Triumphant Ornaments, a thing which *Suetonius* ſays, is the Opinion of ſeveral, was not known before.

his Service might be wanted in the State. Some imagine, that *Augustus's* Children being now grown up, he gave Place to them, and freely resign'd the second Rank which he had so long possess'd: After the Example of *M. Agrippa*, who retir'd to *Mytilene*, when *M. Marcellus* was introduc'd to Publick Affairs, that he might not by his Presence seem to obstruct or impair his Dignity; which was indeed the Reason he himself gave for it some Time after. Pretending therefore a Satiety of Honours, and a Desire to ease himself of the Fatigues of Business, he ask'd for a Permission to travel: Nor cou'd his Mother's passionately intreating him to stay, and his Father-in-Law's complaining in the Senate, that by this he shou'd be left desolate, make any Impression upon him; and when they held him by Force, he was sullen, and refus'd his Food for four Days together. Having at length obtain'd Leave, he quitted *Rome*, abandoning his Wife and his Son, and went immediately to *Osia*, not speaking one Word to those who accompany'd him thither, and † saluting very few at his Departure.

11. As he was coasting along *Campania* from *Osia*, he heard of *Augustus's* Weakness, upon which he stopp'd his Progress. But it being strongly reported,

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ed,

† This shew'd the Soveraignty of *Tiberius's* Temper. For it was a sacred Custom with the *Antients*, to salute their Friends and Relations at parting, with a Kiss. Accordingly when *Euryalus*, in *Virgil*, is going upon an Expedition, from which he is doubtful whether he shall come back alive, it is a particular Circumstance of Grief to him, that he had not thus taken his Leave of his Mother:

Inq; salutatam linquo, &c.

Whatever Danger, neither parting Kiss,
Nor pious Blessing taken, her I leave, &c.

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ed, that he linger'd there in Expectation of some welcome News, he set sail for *Rhodes* with the Wind almost directly against him, having been extremely enamour'd with the Beauty and Healthfulness of the Island, ever since he touch'd there at his Return from *Armenia*. Here being content with a small House, and a Country-Seat not much larger, he liv'd like a private Citizen; coming sometimes into the Schools and Places of Exercise, without either a Lictor or Messenger, and putting himself almost upon a Level with the *Grecian* Pedants, in complying with their usual Forms. It happen'd as he was one Morning allotting his Affairs for the Day, he spoke * something about the sick People at *Rhodes*, and those who were with him misapprehending his Words, as if he design'd to make them a Visit, occasion'd all the Sick to be brought out into the publick Portico, and dispos'd there according to their several Distempers. Being surpriz'd at this unexpected Accident, he was long doubtful what to do; but at last he went to them Man by Man, excusing the Mistake even to the meanest among them, and such as were utterly unknown to him. The only Instance in which he seem'd to use the Authority of his † Tribunitial Power,

* This is the Sense of the Passage in the Latin; but it is not easy to shew from *Suetonius's* Words, *visitare velle*, how such a Mistake cou'd happen. *Schildius* conjectures *Tiberius* said *vitare*, not *visitare*, because 'tis *vitare* in *Salmasius's* Copy, and that his Attendants thought he had said *visitare*. But this does not seem very natural: and guessing is infinite and uncertain.

† *Tiberius's* Retirement to *Rhodes*, notwithstanding all the decent Pretences for it, which were given out by himself and by the Court, to make it seem a voluntary Retreat, was understood by the People, at bottom to be no other than a Banishment, as appears by the Verses § 59. Among other Things to give it a better Face, he was sent thither with a Tribune's Commission, and the Character of *Augustus's* Legate or Ambassador.

Power, was this: As he constantly attended the Schools and Philosophical Auditories, a furious * Squabble broke out one Day among the Disputants, in which there was not wanting a certain Person, who rail'd at him and abus'd him for thrusting himself into the Quarrel, and taking Part with the opposite Side: At this he slipp'd privately home, and returning immediately with his Officers, cited him into Court by the Crier, and commanded him to be carry'd off to Prison. Understanding now that his Wife *Julia* was condemn'd for her Lewdness and her Adulteries, and that a Divorce was sent her in his Name by the Authority of *Augustus*; tho' he was pleas'd at the News, he thought it became him, by frequent Letters to † interceed for her with her Father, as far as he was able, and to request him, that however she might have deserv'd, he wou'd allow her to enjoy whatever Presents of his were in her Hands. The Time of his Tribuneship being expir'd, he at length declar'd, that he design'd nothing in his Retirement, but to avoid the Jealousy of an Emulation with *Gaius* and *Lucius*; and since he was now out of Danger of that, they being establish'd in their Interest, and well able to maintain themselves in their Power, he desir'd he might be permitted to come back and see his Friends, for whom he had an entire Affection. But it was refus'd him; and he was also advis'd not to give himself any Concern for those whom he had before deserv'd.

12. He continu'd therefore at *Rhodes* against his Will; having scarcely obtain'd by his Mother's Application,

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plication,

* It was a common Thing for the Pedants, in their wrangling Disputations, to fly into the wildest Passion, and pelt one another with the most abusive Names and Language, and at last to come to downright Blows.

† Self. 50. of this Life, *Suetonius* expressly contradicts this, and says, he never interceded for her, or made any least Motion in her Favour.

plication, that to cover over the Disgrace, he shou'd reside there as Ambassador from *Augustus*. 'Tis certain, he not only liv'd then as a private Person, but as one in a * perpetual Apprehension and Fear, concealing himself in the middle of the Island, and shunning all Salutations of those who sail'd by the Coast, with which he was continually follow'd; for † no Commander in the Army, nor Magistrate pass'd along, but they touch'd at *Rhodes*. There were some Things also which gave him greater Disturbance. For going over to *Samos* to visit his Son-in-Law † *Caius*, who was made Ruler of the East, he perceiv'd his Mind was very much turn'd against him by the Insinuations of *M. Lasius*, his Companion and Governor. He was suspected also to have employ'd some Centurions, of his own making, who return'd to the Camp by the Time set in their Furloes, to disperse ambiguous Orders there, to sound the Soldiers Minds how they were dispos'd for an Insurrection. Being acquainted with this Suspicion by *Augustus*, he press'd incessantly, that some one of any Degree whatever might be appointed to oversee his Words and Actions.

13. He also discontinu'd his wonted Exercises of Riding and of Arms, and quitting his own ** Country

* Perhaps, knowing the Intrigues his Mother *Livia* was carrying on to secure the Succession to him, and the Dangers and Difficulties which attended such an Undertaking, and that *Augustus* had no Opinion in his Favour, he was in fear the Event might be fatal to him.

† This might be from a Belief, that by the Arts and Interest of *Livia*, *Tiberius* wou'd certainly succeed to the Empire upon *Augustus's* Death.

‡ The Son of *Tiberius's* Wife *Julia*, by her former Husband *Agrippa*.

** The Gown and Shoes. The Roman *Calceus*, or Shoe, reach'd up to the middle Leg, and was ty'd or lac'd on to the Leg and Foot before. The Toe ended in a Point sharp and bending;

try Habit, degraded himself to the † Cloke and Slippers. In this Condition he remain'd almost two Years, becoming every Day more contemptible and more hated, insomuch that the *Nemaufenses* pull'd down his Images and his Statues; and happening to be mention'd at an Entertainment, one started up, and promis'd Caius, to sail immediately to Rhodes, if he wou'd order him, and bring away the Exile's Head, (for that was the Name they gave him.) At this, not so much his Timorousness, as the Dangers to which he saw he was expos'd, prompted him to use his own and his Mother's most importunate Intreaties for Leave to return; in which he succeeded, being assisted in some measure by an Accident. *Augustus* had fix'd his Resolution not to act any thing in this Affair without the Consent of *Tiberius's* eldest †† Son, who happening at this Juncture to be provok'd with *M. Lollius*, was the more easily inclin'd to be reconcil'd to *Tiberius*. Caius therefore agreeing to it, he was recall'd, but upon Condition, that he shou'd in no respect interpose in the Administration of the State.

14. And

bending; and the Shoes of the Patricians had the Figure of a Crescent at the Extremity, resembling the Letter C, which is a Numeral, and standing for 100, signify'd their being descended from the Hundred Senators first constituted by *Romulus*. The Slaves wore no Shoes.

† The Cloke and Slipper were the Habit of the Greeks and other Nations: By using them *Tiberius* degraded himself from the Dignity of a Roman Noble to the mean Condition of a Foreigner.

‡ The Inhabitants of the City *Nemausus* in Gaul.

†† Caius; he was *Tiberius's* Son-in-Law, tho' *Suetonius* calls him here his Son. *Lollius* was his Governor, and had once a wonderful Ascendant over him. But being at last charg'd home with universal Rapine and Corruption in the Eastern Provinces, Caius forbade him his Acquaintance; upon which *Lollius* poison'd himself.

14. And thus after a Recess of eight Years he came home, with great and not ill-grounded Hopes of his future Fortune, which had been infus'd into him from his Youth, both by Prodigies and Predictions. For when *Livia* was big with Child, she consulted several Omens to discover whether she shou'd have a Male Child; and taking an Egg from under a Hen, which was sitting, she foster'd and kept it warm so long, sometimes in her own Hand, and sometimes in the Hands of her Women, till at last a Cock-Chick was hatch'd, with an extraordinary Comb. And *Severinus*, the Astrologer, foretold very great Things of him while he was an Infant, That he shou'd one Day come to reign, but without the *X* Regal Ensigns, for the Power of the *Cæsars* was as then unknown. As he led the Army, in his first Expedition, thro' *Macedonia* into *Syria*, it happen'd that the Altars the *Victorious* Legions had consecrated at *Philippi*, blaz'd out of themselves with sudden Fires; and afterwards, as he was going to *Illyricum*, he repair'd to the Oracle of † *Geryon* near *Padua*, where he drew a

Lot,

X The sacred Fire, the Diadem, &c. which were not introduc'd at Rome till the next Age.

* The Legions which defeated *Brutus* and *Cassius* at *Philippi*.

† *Geryon* was King of three Islands, the *Baleares* greater and less, (now call'd *Majorca* and *Minorca*;) and *Ebusus*, (now *Yvica*). Hence the Poets feign'd he had three Heads; that *Hercules* fought him and slew him, and brought away with him the noble Herds of Oxen, which *Geryon* took a great deal of Pleasure in Breeding.

— postquam *Laurentia* Victor
Geryone extincto, *Tirynthius* attigit arva,
Tyrrenoque boves in flumine lavit *Iberos*.

Virg.

For strong *Alcides*, after he had slain
The triple *Geryon*, drove from conquer'd Spain
His captive Herds, and thence in Triumph led;
On *Tuscan* *Tiber's* flow'ry Banks he fed.

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TIBERIUS NERO CÆSAR. 181

Lot, by which he was directed, for obtaining an Answer to his Inquiry, to cast a pair of Gold Dice into the Fountain of *Apennus*, he did so, and the highest Chance arose; and these Dice are still to be seen there at the bottom of the Water. A few Days before he was recall'd, an Eagle, which was a Bird never

Tergemini nece Geryonis, spoliisque superbus.

Virg.

*Th' avenging Force of Hercules, from Spain,
Arriv'd in Triumph, from Geryon slain;
Thrice liv'd the Giant, and thrice liv'd in vain.
His Prize, the lowing Herds, Alcides drove
Near Tiber's Bank, to graze the shady Grove.*

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Virgil also makes him one of the Keepers of the Entrance of Hell.

——— *Forma tricorporis umbra.*

*Before the Passage horrid Hydra stands,
And Briareus with all his Hundred Hands;
Gorgons, Geryon with his triple-Frame,
And vain Chimera vomits empty Flame.*

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From this Geryon, on some Account or other, 'tis likely the Oracle receiv'd its Name.

* A Fountain of Gallia Cisalpina, between Patavium and Ateste, fam'd for salutary Waters and for Divination. Claudius has wrote a Poem upon it.

Fons, Antenoriz vitam qui porrigis Urbi, &c.

*Distinguish'd Fount, whose wholesome Streams convey
To Padua Health, and chase ill Fate away;
Voice to the Mute thy wond'rous Pow'rs impart,
And Phœbus' self inspires thee with his Art;
For Numbers with successful Vows can tell,
Th' unerring Skill of thy Prophetick Well.*

never seen at *Rhodus* before, settled upon the top of his House; and the Day before he was certain of his Return, as he was changing his Garments, his Tunick seem'd to be on Fire. At the same Time also he put *Thrasyllus*, the Astrologer, whom he had made his Confident, as being a Professor of profound Science and Wisdom, to the utmost proof of his Art; for as they were walking together on the Rocks, *Thrasyllus* seeing a Ship at a distance, assur'd him it wou'd bring him welcome News; and if the Event had fallen out contrary to his Prediction, *Tiberius* was determin'd to * push him down, that very Moment, into the Sea, for an Impostor, and one undeserving to be intrusted with his Secrets.

15. Being return'd to *Rome*, and having introduc'd his Son *Drusus* into the *Forum*, he remov'd immediately from *Pompey's House* in the || *Carina*, to the Gardens of *Mecenas* at †† *Esquilia*, where he resign'd himself intirely to his Ease, minding only private Affairs, and avoiding all publick Business. *Caius* and *Lucius* both dying within three Years, he was adopt-

ed

* Others say, *Tiberius* repenting his having communicated his Secrets so freely to *Thrasyllus*, to prevent any ill Consequences of it, resolv'd with himself to tumble him suddenly into the Sea, as they were walking together on the Cliffs: And that *Thrasyllus* came up to him that Day with a very dejected Countenance, and full of Concern; and *Tiberius* asking him why he look'd so sad, *Thrasyllus* answer'd, Because he was sensible he stood then on the Point of the utmost Danger of Life: *Tiberius* was surpriz'd at the Answer, and chang'd his Mind.

|| Buildings in *Rome*, so call'd, *Servius* says, from being in the Form of a Keel of a Ship; in Latin, *Carina*.

†† *Rome* was divid'd into fourteen Regions, or Wards, of which the *Regio Esquilina* was the fifth: *Mecenas's* Gardens being situate in this Quarter, receiv'd their Name from thence.

ed by *Augustus*, together with their Brother *M. Agrippa*, being first oblig'd to adopt his Brother's Son *Germanicus*. After his Adoption, he never acted any thing as a Father, nor reserv'd to himself any Rights of which by the Adoption he was legally divested. For he neither made any † *Doles*, nor manumitted Slaves, nor accepted any Inheritance or Legacies, otherwise than as Settlements granted him by his Father. From this Time nothing was omitted which might add to his Greatness: More especially, when *Agrippa* being rejected, it was certain the Hope of Succession center'd in him alone.

16. The Tribunitial Authority was again conferr'd on him for five Years, and he was sent into *Germany* to compose the Troubles there. And the *Parthian* Ambassadors having had an Audience of *Augustus* at *Rome*, had Instructions to attend him also in his * *Province*. But Advice coming of the Revolt of *Illyricum*, he set forward to undertake a new War, which was the most important of all the foreign Wars after the *Carthaginian*. He maintain'd it for three Years, with fifteen Legions and a like Number of Auxiliaries, under all manner of Difficulties, and an extreme Want of Provisions: And tho' Messages frequently arriv'd to recall him, he still push'd it on, being afraid lest the Enemy, who was potent and just at hand, wou'd insult him if he made a voluntary Retreat. This Perseverance of his receiv'd at last a noble Reward: For he conquer'd all *Illyricum* which lies between *Italy*, the Kingdom of *Noricum*, and *Thrace*, and *Macedonia*, and between the River *Danube* and the *Adriatick Gulf*.

17. The Glory of this Success, was wonderfully augmented by the Seasonableness of it. For about the

† A Son while under his Father's Authority, cou'd neither make a *Dole*, nor manumit a Slave, without his Father's Permission.

* *Germany*.

the same Time, *Quintilius Varus* was cut off in Germany with three Legions; and no Man doubted, but the victorious *Germani* wou'd have join'd with the *Pannonians*, if *Illyriums* had not been reduc'd before that Blow. For these Things a Triumph was decreed him, and many and great Honours. Some were also for having him surnam'd † *Pannonicus*, others *Iovissus*, and others *Pius*: But *Augustus* interpos'd in this Affair, and assur'd them, *Tiberius* wou'd rest satisfy'd with the Surname which he wou'd transmit to him at his Death. He put off his Triumph, because the City was in deep Affliction for *Varus's* Overthrow: Yet he made his Entrance in the *Prætexta*, the Crown of Laurel, and a Seat being erected in the *Septa*, he went up to it, the Senate standing beside him, and sat down with *Augustus* * between the two Consuls; and from hence, after he had paid his Compliment to the People, he was led in-Form to all the Temples.

18. The next Year he return'd to Germany, and reflecting that *Varus's* Misfortune was owing to the Temerity and Negligence of the General, he acted nothing without the Approbation of his Council: And tho' at other Times he had †† depended wholly on his own Opinion, yet now, contrary to his former manner, he consulted with several upon the Disposition of the War; and was more strict in his Care than before. At his crossing the Rhine, he allow'd not the Baggage, which he had restrain'd to a certain Proportion, to be transported till he had examin'd the Waggon, as he stood on the Bank of the River, that nothing might be carry'd over which

was

† It was a known Custom with the Romans, to give Names to their Generals from their Victories.

* The most honourable Place.

†† *Tiberius*, according to *Plutarch*, was hasty in his Resolutions; for he says, it was *Augustus's* Character of him, that he never thought upon a Thing twice.

was not permitted or necessary. On the other side of the Rhine, his Manner of Life was to sit at Meat on bare Sods of Turf, and to sleep often in the open Air without a Tent. He gave out his Orders for the next Day, or concerning any sudden Affairs, in little Billets, adding, That if any Doubts arose, they shou'd make use of no Interpreter but himself; to whom they might repair at any Hour of the Night.

19. He observ'd a very rigorous Discipline, and reviv'd the antient Kinds of Punishments and Disgrace, branding even a Lieutenant of a Legion for sending a few Soldiers with his Freedman cross the River to hunt. Tho' he-trusted as little as possible to the Caprices and Casualties of Fortune, yet he always fought when the Taper, which burn'd before him by Night, went out suddenly and of its own Accord, depending, as he said, upon an Omen, of which himself and his Ancestors, whenever they were in Command, had often seen the Certainty. Having finish'd the War with Success, he narrowly escap'd being kill'd by a certain † Brutterian, who being discover'd as he was lurking among his Attendants, by his Confusion and Trembling; and put to the Torture, confess'd the whole Design.

20. Returning to Rome from Germany, after two Years, he celebrated the Triumph which he had deser'd, accompany'd with his Lieutenants, for whom he also obtain'd the Honour of the Triumphal Ornaments.

* Contrary to the Roman Manner at Meals; which was, to lie at their Ease on tender Couches. But Tiberius, like the Leaders of Old, inur'd himself to the Roughness of a Soldier's Life, to become an Example of Hardiness and Vigilance to the whole Camp.

* The Officer's Crime seems to be, the permitting his Men to go far meerly for their Diversion, at a Time when the Enemy was near at hand.

† The Brutterians were a People of Germany between the Rhine and Amasia.

naments: Before he pass'd to the Capitol, he came down from his Chariot, and threw himself at the Feet of his Father, who then presided over the Assembly at this Procession. He bestow'd very rich Gifts on *Bato*, the *Pannonian* General, and sent him back to *Ravenna*, as a grateful Return for his generous Behaviour; because, when *Bato* had once, by the Advantage of the Ground, inclos'd him and his Army, he freely releas'd them, and let them march off. He entertain'd the People afterwards at a thousand Tables, and distributed a || Congiary among them of Three hundred Sesterces a Man. He also dedicated a Temple to *Concord* out of the Spoils, and to *Castor* and *Pollux* in † his own and his Brother's Name.

21. The Consuls not long after, passing a Law for him to share the Administration of the Provinces in Common with *Augustus*, and make the *Census* with him, he perform'd the *Lastrum*, and then set forward to *Illyricum*. And being immediately call'd back from his Journey, by Advice of *Augustus's* Sickness, he found him very dangerously Ill, tho' yet alive, and was in private with him a whole Day. I know it is generally believ'd, that, *Tiberius* being withdrawn after the secret Conference, those who waited in the Chamber over-heard *Augustus* say, *Miserum Populum Romanum, qui sub tam lenis maxillis erit! Miserable Romans! who will fall into such * slow-grinding Jaws:*
Nor

|| A Distribution of Money among the People by the Emperor. When it was made to the Soldiers, it was call'd a *Donative*.

† To signify their mutual Affiliation and Agreement: *Castor* and *Pollux* being two Brothers, and having always the same Temple in common between them, and call'd by both their Names.

* There is no Occasion to understand this of his being slow and tedious in his Resolutions, which contradicts what was observ'd concerning him from *Plutarch* in a former Note.

Nor am I ignorant that some have reported, *Augustus* express'd his Dislike of his morose and sullen Temper so apparently, that if he was engag'd in a pleasant and familiar Conversation, he wou'd break it off upon *Tiberius's* coming into the Room; and that it was either the Importunity of his Wife which prevail'd on him to make the Adoption, or an * Ambition to endear his own Memory the more by having such a Successor. But I can never be persuaded, so circumspect and prudent a Prince wou'd act any thing rashly, in an Affair particularly of such wonderful Importance. I am of Opinion, that having well consider'd his Vices and his Virtues, he judg'd his Virtues outweigh'd the others; especially since he declar'd upon Oath in an Oration, That he adopt-ed him for the Good of the Commonwealth. And he commends him in several Letters, as a perfect Master of the Art of War, and as the only Support of the Roman People: Of which I have added a few Instances, in Passages taken from some of the Letters. Farewel, my dear *Tiberius*. I wish thou may'st have Success, who art fighting for me and the † *Miser*. Farewel, and Heaven prosper

Note. The Meaning is, that *Tiberius* was of so cruel a Temper, as to delight to make Persons lie a long Time in Torture, before they were put to Death. The same as *Clau-dian* says of *Rufinus*.

*A quick Dispatch the barbarous Wretch denies,
And a long Train of tedious Death enjoys.
Racks, Dungeons, Chains and Tortures he prepares,
And the wish'd Blow inhumanly defers.
More dreadful than the Sword, such Grace to gain?
Accur'd Reprieve! to lengthen Life for Pain.*

* *Tacitus* says, *Augustus* adopted him only with this Design.

† Perhaps *Tiberius* carry'd on his Studies, and made Verses in the Camp.

prosper me, as I am sincere in my Wishes for thee, my dearest, most brave, and most accomplish'd General. And, — so admirable a Disposition of thy Summer Quarters. I am satisfy'd, my Tiberius, it is impossible for any Man under such numerous Difficulties, and serv'd with such listless and untractable Soldiers, to have order'd Things more prudently than Thou hast done. All who were with thee, acknowledge that Verse may be apply'd to thee,

Unus homo nobis vigilando restituit rem.

One Man by Vigilance has sav'd the State.

Whether, says he, any Incident happens which requires a stricter Deliberation, or whether any Thing lies uneasy upon my Mind, I protest, I extremely miss my Tiberius; and those Lines of Homer occur to my Thoughts,

* Τέτ' αὖ κάμψαν, ὡς ἐν πυρὶ αἰδουμένο
 Ἄνθρωπος ἰσχυρόν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς αἰσῶσι νόον.

His wary Wisdom safely, if he goes,
 Shall bear us both thro' burning Flames and Foes.

When I hear and read how thou art harass'd with perpetual Labour, may I perish, if it does not fill me with Horror. I beseech thee, take Care of thy self; lest if we hear thou art in a languishing Condition, both I and thy Mother shou'd immediately expire, and the whole Empire be put to Hazard. It is nothing whether I am well or ill, if thou art not well. I pray the Gods to preserve thee to us, and to keep thee in Health both now and ever, if they have not quite abandon'd the Roman People.

22. He

* Part of the Speech of Diomedes in the tenth of the Ilias, who desires Ulysses may be join'd with him, on account of his Sagacity and Prudence, when he is going out to view the Trojan Camp.

22. He did not publish *Augustus's* Death till young *Agrippa* was slain. He was kill'd by a Military Tribune plac'd with him as his Keeper, who receiv'd a written Order to perform the Deed. 'Tis uncertain whether *Augustus* left this Warrant behind him, to prevent any Commotions after his Death, or whether *Livia* drew it in *Augustus's* Name with or without the Knowledge of *Tiberius*. When the Tribune came back and told him, he had executed his Orders, *Tiberius* reply'd, he gave him no Orders, and that he shou'd answer it to the Senate, only to avoid the Odium of the Thing at present; for he afterwards pass'd it by in Silence.

23. Having conven'd the Senate, by Virtue of his Tribunitial Power, and began an Oration of Condolance to them, he fetch'd a deep Sigh as overwhelm'd with Sorrow, and wishing not only his Voice, but his Life might also fail him, deliver'd his Paper to his Son *Drusus* to read it thro'. *Augustus's* Will was then produc'd, and no Witnesses being admitted into the House but who were of the † Senatorian Order, the rest acknowledging their Signings without, he caus'd it to be read by his Freedman. It began thus, *Forasmuch as my inauspicious Fortune has snatch'd from me my two Sons, Caius and Lucius, I make Tiberius Cæsar my Heir of two Thirds of my Estate.* This confirm'd them in their Suspicion, who believ'd that *Augustus* appointed him his Successor rather out of Necessity than Judgment, since he cou'd not forbear to open his Will with such a Preface.

24. Tho' he made no Scruple immediately to assume the Imperial Power, and to exert it, and to take Possession of the Military Guards, the very Marks of Sovereignty, yet he most impudently refus'd,

The Son of his Wife *Julia*, by her former Husband *Agrippa*.

† This was done from a pretended Respect to the Senate, to ingratiate himself into their Favour.

fus'd, for a long time, to accept the Style; reproving his Friends, who press'd him to it, as not knowing what a Wild Beast the Empire was; and by his ambiguous and crafty Answers holding the Senate in Suspence, when they entreated him, and even threw themselves at his Knees; insomuch that some were out of Patience with him, and one call'd out to him in a Tumult which happen'd about it, *Either let him take it, or leave it*: And another told him to his Face, *Others were slow to perform what they had promis'd, but he was slow to promise what he had perform'd*. At length, he accepted it, as if he were overborne by Force, and complaining they impos'd upon him a miserable and burdensome Slavery; pretending also, he did it merely in hope he should be able one Day or other to lay it down. His Words were these; *Till the Time shall come, when you shall think fit to allow my Old Age some Rest*.

25. The Reason of his Delay, was the Fear of the Dangers which threatned him on every Side; and therefore he often said, *he baid a Wolf by the Ears*. For Agrippa's Slave, * *Clement* by Name, had drawn together no contemptible Number of Men to revenge his Master's Death; and † *L. Scribonius Libo*, a Noble-

* Upon the Death of Augustus, he design'd to have brought off his Master from the Island where he was banish'd; but finding him murder'd before his Arrival, he some Time after undertook to personate him, and gave himself out for Agrippa, pretending the Gods had miraculously preserv'd his Life. Tiberius got two trusty Fellows to go over to him, and insinuate themselves into his Service; who watching their Opportunity, seiz'd him one Night, and carry'd him to Rome, where he was executed privately.

† The Story is at large in Tacitus, and is a full Proof of the Cunning of Tiberius, and the Corruption of those Times. The Summ of it is this: *Catus*, a Senator, designing

Nobleman, was forming secret Designs against him; and a * Sedition of the Soldiers broke out in *Myricum*, and another in *Germany*. The Troops in both Places demanding several Things which were unprecedented; and above all, the Army in *Germany* insisted on having their Pay made equal to that of the Pretorian Bands. Some of them also rejected a Prince who was not appointed by themselves, and with the utmost Importunity solicited *Germanicus*, who was then their Commander, to undertake the Government, tho' he inflexibly oppos'd it. This being the Thing *Tiberius* chiefly dreaded, he request-ed he might have only such a † Part of the Administration allotted him as the Senate thought proper, since it wou'd be impossible for a single Person to sustain the Whole, without one or more to assist him. He pretended himself also to be sickly and indispos'd, that *Germanicus* might wait the more contentedly in Expectation of succeeding very shortly, or, at least, of being taken into a Share of the Government.

signing to make a Merit with Tiberius by sacrificing Libo, who was an inconsiderate young Man, engag'd him in several Extravagances and obnoxious Actions, and at last inform'd the Emperor against him. Tiberius manag'd the Affair with the deepest Subtily: He wou'd not take the Cause into his own Hands, but caus'd him to be arraign'd before the Senate, affecting all the Time a wonderful Air of Impartiality and Justice. Libo seeing his Ruin unavoidable, stabb'd himself in his own House in Despair, before his Tryal.

* It was set on Foot by *Percennius*, a Fellow belonging to the Theatre; and was with much Difficulty appeas'd by *Tiberius's* Son *Drusus*, whom his Father sent thither on purpose.

† He thought this wou'd be less provoking to *Germanicus*, than to take full Possession of the whole Empire; and both this Expedient, and the other of feigning himself in ill Health, were design'd to make *Germanicus* easy.

vernment. The Seditions being suppress'd, he also got †† *Clement* by a Stratagem betray'd into his Power. And, not to proceed to Severities at the Beginning of his Reign, it was not till his second Year that he accus'd *Libo* in the Senate, contenting himself in the mean time with keeping a strict Eye upon him, and using Precaution. Accordingly as *Libo* was sacrificing once among the Priests, he caus'd a †† Leadn Knife to be deliver'd him instead of a Steel one, and wou'd not allow him a private Conference when he ask'd it, but with his Son *Drusus* in Company; and as they walk'd, he held him by the Right-hand, as if it were to lean upon him, during the whole Discourse.

26. Being at length : freed from his Fears, he liv'd at first like a common Citizen of *Rome*, and little above the Condition of a private Person; and of many and magnificent Honours, he accepted only few, and such as were moderate. His Birth-Day happening to fall at the Time of the * *Plœbian Games* in the *Circus*, he wou'd not suffer more than a single Chariot of one Pair of Horses to be added in Honour of it, to the usual Number. He forbid Temples, Flamens, and Priests to be decreed him, and Statues and Images to be erected him, unless by his own express Permission; and he permitted them only upon Condition they shou'd not be plac'd † among

†† See the Notes Pag. 190.

‡ For fear he shou'd attempt to stab him.

* He was afraid Germanicus, or some other, shou'd have disputed the Empire with him; but at length seeing no Body appear against him, he laid aside those uneasy Apprehensions.

* Games celebrated in Commemoration of the People's obtaining their Liberty upon the Expulsion of the Kings, or for some other remarkable Event to their Advantage.

† among those of the Gods, but among the common Decorations of the Building. He interceded also, that they wou'd not oblige themselves to his Acts by Oath; That the Month *September* might not be call'd *Tiberius*, and *Officer Livius*; and refus'd the Titles of *Imperator* and *Father of his Country*, and the Honour of having the Civic Crown hung up in the Porch of his Palace. Nor did he give himself the Name of *Augustus*, tho' it was * hereditary to him, unless in his Epistles to Kings and Princes. He held but three Consulships; one only for a few Days, another three Months, and the third till the † Ides of *May*, being then at a Distance from the City.

27. || Adulations and extravagant Complements were so much his Aversion, that he wou'd suffer no Senator, either out of Respect, or on account of Business, to attend him as he was carry'd in his Litter. And a Consular Man coming to beg pardon of him for some Offence, and endeavouring to throw himself at his Knees, he started back to prevent him so hastily, that he tumbled flat on the Ground. If any one spoke very flattering and tender Things of him in common Discourse, or in an Oration, he never scrupled to interrupt and check him, and

K

make

† Caligula was so far from this Complaisance, that he insensibly took Place of the Gods, and even of Jupiter himself, whom he treated very roughly. But Tiberius, tho' he had not more Virtue, had far more Discretion than his Successor. For as he was sensible he came to the Empire with the Disadvantage of an unpopular and blemish'd Character, he craftily practis'd these Instances of disssembled Deceit and Self-Denial, that he might not increase the Publick Scorn.

* See Page 184.

†† May 15th.

|| After the Example of Augustus, from whom he had learn'd this Part of Political Behaviour. See p. 105.

make him recall them immediately. A certain Person terming him LORD, he charg'd him not to make a Jest of him again: And one styling his Employments Sacred, and another saying, His Power had brought him into the Senate, he oblig'd them to change the Words, and instead of Power to say Advice, and for Sacred, Laborious.

28. On the contrary, under * Reproaches, scandalous Rumours, and defamatory Verses upon himself and his Family, he was unmov'd and patient; and even declar'd, That in a free City, Men's Tongues and Thoughts ought to be free. And when the Senate were earnest with him to have such sort of Crimes, and the Authors of them animadverted on, † We have not so much Leisure, says he, upon our Hands, as to involve our selves in a Multitude of Business. If you shou'd once open this Door, you will be able to transact nothing else: For, under this Pretence, every Man's personal Resentments will be brought before you to be heard. There is extant also an Expression of his to the Senate, extremely handsome. If any Person, says he, shall speak against me, I will endeavour to give a just Account of my Words and Actions: If he persists after that, I will be even with him, and hate him again.

29. This

* This was another Lesson in Politicks, which Tiberius plainly took from Augustus. See Pag. 106, 107.

† The Reason Tiberius here assigns against such a Proposal, is very just. When a Prince begins to tyrannize and oppress, it is impossible but the Passions of the People will find a Vent: To oppose them fiercely in every little Instance, will only irritate them. And by opening a Court of this Nature, Tiberius wou'd have oblig'd himself to make the Quarrels of private Persons his own: For when Men know where to make their Complaints be heard, every little Disgust in common Life, will be soon magnify'd into a publick Concern; and a thousand trifling Differences pass'd to Extremity, which wou'd otherwise die away, and be never remember'd.

29. This Behaviour was the more remarkable in him, because in the Titles and Respect he gave to particular Men, and to all in general, he himself exceeded almost all Bounds of Civility and Complaisance. Thus happening to be of a different Opinion in the Senate from † Q. Haterius, *You will pardon me, says he, if as a Senator I oppose you somewhat freely;* and then addressing himself to the whole House: *I have often said, and I repeat it, that a good and useful Prince, whom, Fathers, you have endow'd with so large and unrestrain'd a Power, ought to make himself the Servant of the Senate, and many times of the whole Body of the Citizens, and even of every private Person; Nor do I repent that I said it, having always found you, as you still continue to be, good, and just, and indulgent Lords.*

30. He reviv'd also a certain Appearance and Shew of Liberty, preserving to the Senate and the Magistrates, their antient Majesty and Power. Nor was there any Affair, either publick or private, so little or so great, but it was referr'd to the Senators: The Taxes, the Monopolies, the raising or repairing of Works, and even the †† levying and disband-

K 2

ing

* The same Cunning which made him avoid receiving such himself, induc'd him to bestow them upon others. These little Decencies of Deportment and Expression, and the keeping up an insignificant Form of Freedom and Authority in the several Parts of the State, soften'd the Spirits of Men, and help'd to deceive them, while he was covertly drawing all real Power and Dominion into his own Hands.

† A celebrated Orator.

†† To deliver up to the Senate absolutely, the Management of the publick Taxes, the Regulation of the Army, and the Creating the Military Officers, wou'd have invest'd them with the Administration and Sovereignty in the most important Branches of it; and therefore we must understand this only to signify, that in some inconsiderable Points,

ing the Soldiers, and the Quartering of the Legions and the Auxiliaries; in a Word, the prolonging Commissions, and appointing Generals for extraordinary Wars, were all determin'd by them; and they gave Directions as they thought proper, what Answers shou'd be return'd to the Letters of Kings and Princes, and in what Form. And a Prefect of the Wing being accus'd of Oppression and Rapine, he oblig'd him to bring the Cause * before the Senate. He never enter'd the House, but † alone; and being carry'd thither once in a Chair, because he was indispos'd, he discharg'd his Attendants, and sent them off at the Door.

‡ He made no manner of Complaint, when several Things were †† decided contrary to his Opinion.

Points, Tiberius permitted them perhaps a real Power, and complimented them with a Form of Authority in the more material; allowing Things to pass under their Name, while in Truth they were determin'd by him.

* At the Siege of Veii, Camillus made a Military Law, that the Soldiers Causes shou'd be decided in a Court Martial.

Bardiacus iudex datur hæc punire volenti, &c.
Juv. Sat. 16.

A booted Judge shall sit to try his Cause,
Not by the Statute, but by Martial Laws,
Which old Camillus order'd, to confine
The Brawls of Soldiers to the Trench and Line.
A wise Provision: And from thence 'tis clear,
That Officers a Soldier's Cause shou'd hear.

Mr. Dryden.

† That he might not seem to over-awe the House in their Resolutions, by coming accompany'd with a numerous Train.

†† Tertullian gives a remarkable Instance of this. Tiberius mov'd in the Senate, that our SAVIOUR might be added to the Number of their Gods, and voted for it; but the House reject'd it, and he submitted.

nion. Thus, tho' he had declar'd no Magistrates ought to be absent from their Posts, that by residing on the Spot they might the better execute their Charge, the Pretor Elect obtain'd a * free Ambassy. Also when he mov'd to have the Money which was left by Will to the *Trebian*s for erecting a new Theatre, employ'd in repairing the Ways, he cou'd not prevail, but the Will of the Testator was confirm'd. And when in a Division of the House, which happen'd upon a certain Decree, he went over to the Side which had the smallest Number, no Body follow'd him. All other Matters also were transacted by the proper Magistrates, and according to usual Forms of Law; and the Power of the Consuls was so great, that the Ambassadors from *Africa* apply'd themselves to them, complaining, *Cæsar*, to whom they were sent, delay'd them. Nor is there any thing surprizing in this, since it was well known, he us'd to rise up to the Consuls, and to give them the Way.

32. He reprimanded the Consular Men who had the Conduct of the Army, for not † sending Advice of their Transactions to the Senate; and for reserving the Disposal of some particular Military Premiums to him, as if they had not Power to appoint them all. He commended the Pretor, because at his entering on his Office, he had reviv'd the ancient Custom of celebrating his Ancestors in an Oration. He attended the Funerals of Illustrious Men even to the Pile; and shew'd a like Respect both to meaner

K 3

Persons

* This seems to be merely an Honorary Employment, which gave him an Opportunity to be absent in the Countries to which he was nominated Ambassador or Legate, on any Occasions of his own; which wou'd otherwise have been unlawful, the Pretor being a City-Officer.

† A Point of Duty and Respect; by which they own'd the Authority of the Senate, and seem'd to leave it with them to issue Instructions to them from Time to Time.

Persons and Things. When he summon'd the *Rhodian* Magistrates before him, for sending a publick Letter without a * Subscription to him, he only order'd them to subscribe it, and dismiss'd them without so much as an angry Word. *Diogenes* the Grammarian, who us'd to dispute at *Rhodes* every *Saturday*, had refus'd to admit him, when he came to hear him out of the usual Hours, and sent a pitiful Slave of his to put him off to † that Day Se'nnight; yet when he was waiting before the Palace-Gate at *Rome* to pay his Salutation to him, *Tiberius* went no farther than to desire him to come again at seven Years End. The Governors of the Provinces advising him to load them with Tribute, he wrote them back Word, That it was the Duty of a good Shepherd to shear his Sheep, not to fien them.

33. He exerted the Princely Power by Degrees; and tho' it was with great Variety, yet it was generally for the Publick Good. At first he interpos'd no farther than to prevent Male Practices and Corruptions. Therefore he repeal'd several Constitutions of the Senate, and frequently offer'd himself as †† Council to the Magistrates upon Trials,

|| sit-

|| The Antients setting their Names at the Beginning, and not after the Modern Way, at the Close of the Letter; this cannot mean, they had omitted to sign their Names, but signifies rather, their not concluding with the usual Valedictory Expressions of good Wishes and Respect.

† The Reprimand of *Tiberius* turning upon the Number Seven, (Seven Years for Seven Days) the Reader will excuse the Use of our English Expression, that Day seven-night, or se'nnight; which, 'tis confess'd, wou'd otherwise be improper in a Roman Author: But the Convenience of it here is obvious.

†† To make himself Popular, by affecting a wonderful Regard to see Justice exactly administer'd.

|| sitting promiscuously among them, or over against them, upon an upper Bench. And if it was rumour'd at any time, that a guilty Person was going to be acquitted by Favour, he was in the Court in an Instant, and either standing below, or from the Questor's Seat, reminded the Judges of the Laws, and the Obligations they were under from their Oath, and the Nature of the Crime then before them. And if any Depravity in Manners had crept in by Negligence or ill Customs, he undertook to see it reform'd.

34. He restrain'd the Expences of Games and Shews, by lessening the Allowance of the Players, and * reducing the Matches of Gladiators to a certain Number. Being extremely displeas'd at the prodigious Price to which *Corinthian Vessels* were rais'd, and that three † Barbels shou'd be sold for

K 4

† thirty

|| He wou'd not turn the Judge of the Court out of his Seat, but plac'd himself where-ever there happen'd to be Room, that he might seem so wholly intent on assisting them to do Justice, as intirely to neglect his own Dignity, by taking up with any ordinary inferior Seat.

* A Law was made to this Effect in the Time of Julius Cæsar, (see p. 6.) which was either expir'd, or repeal'd; and this of Tiberius was also neglected by some succeeding Emperors.

† Seneca tells a pleasant Story of Tiberius's sending a large Mullet which was presented him, into the Market to be sold, I'll lay my Life now, says he, either Apicius or Octavius buys the Fish. He guess'd justly: For those two Gluttons were immediately dealing for it, and bid upon one another so extravagantly, that at last it cost Octavius, who was resolv'd to carry it, Five Thousand Sesterces. Crispinus also in Juvénal, is branded for the same expensive Luxury:

Mallum sex millibus emit,
Æquantem sane paribus sestertia libris. Sat. 4.

Six Thousand Pieces for one Fish he paid,
A Thousand just for ev'ry Pound it might be sold.

† thirty Thousand Sesterces, he propos'd to have the Charges of Furniture restrain'd by a Law; and that the Rates in the Market shou'd be fix'd every Year, at the Discretion of the Senate, the Ediles being injoin'd to prohibit Victualling-Houses and Taverns so strictly, that they shou'd not suffer even Bakers-Shops. And to incourage publick Parsimony by his own Example, he often caus'd the Reminders of the former Day, to be serv'd up at an Entertainment with half a * Boar, saying, *There was as much Goodness in the Parts, as in the Whole.* He forbid in an Edict, the daily † Salutes by Kissing; and that the Custom of making New-Years-Gifts shou'd continue after the Kalends of January were pass'd. He had

† 750 Crowns.

* A celebrated Dish with the Romans, who us'd to have a whole one set to Table at once at their Entertainments.

——flavi dignus ferro Meleagri

Fumar aper, &c.

Juv. Sat. 5.

A Boar entire, and worthy of the Sword
Of Meleager, smokes upon the Board.

Mr. Bowles.

Juvenal in his first Satire exposes a gluttonous Nobleman, for having a Boar dress'd for himself alone.

——Quanta est gula, quæ sibi totos

Ponit apros, animal propter convivia natum?

Prodigious Throat! for which whole Boars are dress'd,
A Creature form'd to furnish out a Feast.

Mr. Dryden.

† Casaubon thinks that Tiberius, who was of a morose Temper, offering it beneath him to pay or receive this familiar Ceremony of Salutation, suppress'd it in general, lest if he alone refus'd it, he shou'd be thought ill-natur'd and proud.

had us'd to give Presents with his own Hand, four times as much as he receiv'd: But not liking that he was broken in upon thro' the whole Month, by those who cou'd not gain Admission the first Day of the new Year, he laid down the Custom.

35. He empower'd the next Relations to punish in private among themselves, according to the ancient Manner, such Matrons as were guilty of Adultery, and were not publicly arraign'd; and acquitted a Roman Knight from his Oath not to discharge his Wife, and allow'd him to divorce her, upon his taking her in Uncleanness with her Son-in-Law. The scandalous Women had brought up a Practice of professing themselves Prostitutes, that they might divest themselves of the Rights and Dignity of * Matrons, and thereby avoid the Penalties of the Laws. And the profligate Youth of either † Order had voluntarily degraded themselves, that they might not be restrain'd by the Decree of the Senate from performing among the Gladiators and Players. All these he banish'd, that none might for the future protect themselves from the Laws, by such Subterfuges and Elusions. And he depriv'd a Senator of the Habit, because he understood he withdrew into the Country just at the ‡ Kalends of July, that after they were past, he might have a House in the City at a lower Rent. He also remov'd another from the Questorship, because the Day after his Nomination

K 5

to

* *Matrons were Women of Honourable Rank, or Gentlewomen. The Rights of Matrons were the Use of the Stole, and the Habit of the Roman Gentry. The lewd Women were prohibited the Stole, and were oblig'd to wear a Gown, to distinguish themselves; like the modern Courtesans in Italy.*

† *Of the Knights or Senators.*

‡ *The first of July was Quarter-Day with the Romans; at that Time they retir'd to their Country Villa's, which made Houses let for less Rent in the City.*

to his Office, he repudiated his Wife whom he had marry'd the Day before.

36 All foreign Rites of Religion, as the *Ægyptian* and *Jewish*, he suppress'd; constraining such as follow'd those Superstitions, to burn their sacred Garments with all their consecrated Furniture. And under a Pretence of lifting them for Soldiers, he dispers'd the *Jewish* Youth into Provinces which had an unhealthy Air, and banish'd the rest of that Nation,

or

* *Augustus* seems to have had the same Prejudice against the *Ægyptian* and *Jewish* Worship, if what *Suetonius* tells us Page 140, may be rely'd on. The Reason of his Aversion to the latter, is given there in the Note: And perhaps the ridiculous Duties of *Ægypt*, which were Brutus and inanimate Things, occasion'd his Contempt of the former. For tho' the Romans were stupid enough to idolize Men and Women, and make Gods of their Emperors; yet the sordid Superstition of the *Ægyptians*, in setting up Birds, Beasts, Fishes, and even Garden-Herbs for Divinities, was so extravagantly foolish, that it provok'd their Derision. And *Juvenal* in his fifteenth Satire lashes them for it severely.

Quis nescit Volusi Bithynice, qualia demens
Ægyptus portenta colat? &c.

How *Ægypt* mad with Superstition grown,
Makes Gods of Monsters, but too well is known.
One Self Devotion to Nile's Serpent pays,
Others to Ibis that on Serpents preys.
Fish-Gods you'll meet, with Fins and Scales o'er-grown;
Diana's Dogs ador'd in ev'ry Town;
Her Dogs have Temples, but the Goddess none.
'Tis mortal Sin an Onion to devour;
Each Clove of Garlick is a sacred Pow'r.
Religious Nations sure, and blest Abodes,
Where ev'ry Garden is o'er-run with Gods!

Mr. Tate.

or their Profelytes, from the City, under the Penalty of perpetual Bondage. He also expell'd the Astrologers; but upon their petitioning, and engaging to renounce their Art, he forgave them.

37. Above all, he was careful to preserve the Peace from being violated by Pillagers and Robbers, and by Seditions. He augmented the Number of Garrison throughout Italy, and form'd a † Guard-House at Rome to lodge the Pretorian Cohorts, who lay scatter'd up and down before in the publick Inns. Popular Tumults he punish'd with the last Severity, and us'd the strictest Caution to prevent them. A Murder being committed in a Quarrel at the Theatre, he banish'd the Heads of the †† Factions, and the Players upon whose Account the Scuffle arose; nor cou'd he be prevail'd upon by any Intreaties of the People to recall them. The Inhabitants of Pollentia having refus'd to let the Body of a certain Centurion be carry'd out of the Forum, till they had extorted Money from the Heirs to furnish a Match of Gladiators, he caus'd a Cohort to advance

* Not from any Dislike of their Art; for he consulted it very much before his Accession to the Empire; and in his Retreat at Caprea, he spent his Time wholly in practising with Fortune-Tellers and Wizards. But he banish'd them now from Rome, that the People might not be dealing with them about the Event of his Government, or the Period of his Life, and other Matters of State.

† That the Troops being collected together in a Body, might be more ready at Hand to suppress Insurrections.

†† The Spectators us'd to interest themselves on different Sides, at the Games of the Theatre and the Circus; and the opposite Parties disputed so fiercely for the Champions and Players they favour'd, that they often came to Blows.

‡ A Town in Gallia Cisalpina, on the River Tanarus.

advance from Rome, and another from † *Cotius's* Kingdom, who dissembling the Occasion of their March, shew'd their Arms on a sudden, and sounding a Charge, rush'd into the Town at several Gates, and the greater Part of the People and the Magistrates he imprison'd for Life. He abolish'd the X Privileges of Asylums in all Parts, and put a Stop to the Custom of crossing them. The †† *Quintians* having acted some Outrages against the Roman Citizens, he publicly divested them of their Liberty, which they had obtain'd by their good Services in the *Mithridatic War*. Whatever hostile Commotions arose after this, he never went in Person to suppress them, but employ'd his Lieutenants; and even that was after much Delay, and only in Cases of Necessity. The Kings who were disaffected, and of whom he had a Jealousy, he kept in Subjection, either by Threats and Remonstrances, than by Force; and some he drew to Rome by Promises and Flatteries, and never suffer'd them to return; as *Mavalinus*, the

German,

† *A small Country of Cisalpine Gaul towards the West. It was invaded by Augustus; but Cotius made so brave a Defence against the Roman Power, that Augustus not being able to conquer him, accepted him for an Ally.*

X *The multiplying Places of Protection, became an Encouragement to all manner of Criminals to act their Villanies boldly. It was a wise and popular Thing, to remove so general an Inconvenience, which was increasing every Day. Tacitus says, Tiberius did not entirely suppress these Asylums, but put them under Regulations, and reduc'd the Number. The History is at large in Tacitus, An. B. 3.*

†† *The Inhabitants of Cyzicum, or Cyaicus, a City of Mysia minor, famous for Luxury. In the War with Mithridates, they held out a Siege very resolutely, till the Romans came to their Relief; for which Merit they were made a free City.*

German, Thracopolis the Thracian, and Artabellæ the Cappadocian, whose Kingdom he also reduc'd into a Province.

38. For two Years together after he came to the Empire, he never stirr'd out of the City-Gates; and afterwards he us'd to go no farther than to the neighbouring Towns, and at farthest to *Antium*, and this very seldom, and only for a few Days; tho' he often gave out, that he wou'd review the Provinces and the Armies, and made Preparations for a Progress every Year, providing Carriages, and causing Provisions to be laid in ready at the Municipal Towns and Colonies. Nay, he even permitted Vows to be offer'd up for his safe Journey and Return; and was at last in Derision call'd *Callipides*, which is a Greek Proverb, to signify a Person who is continually in Motion, and yet never stirs a Step from the Place.

39. But being depriv'd of both his Sons, of whom *Germanicus* dy'd in *Syria* and *Drusus* at *Rome*, he made a Retirement to *Campania*. And it was the fix'd Opinion, and the Discourse almost of all Men, that he wou'd never return, and wou'd very suddenly meet his Death; in both which Points they were not much deceiv'd. For he came back to *Rome* no more; and as he was feasting a few Days after near † *Terracina*, in a *Villa* call'd *The Cave*, a great many large Stones happen'd to fall down from the Ceiling and

* The such popular Conjectures have often very little Foundation, yet if the Impressions are strong on the Minds of the People, they readily interpret every indifferent Accident in Favour of their Opinion. But the great Preparations *Tiberius* made for this Retirement, and his solemn Disposition of Affairs before his Departure, might plainly argue a Design to be absent a considerable Time: And his Oppressions and Tyranny might very reasonably make them imagine, some Conspiracy or other wou'd soon be form'd against him, and shorten his Days.

† A Town of Italy, also call'd *Anxur*.

and slew several of the Guests and the Servants, himself escaping beyond Expectation.

40. Having travell'd over *Campania*, and dedicated the † Capitol at *Capua*, and the Temple of *Augustus* at *Nola*, which he pretended was the Occasion of his Journey, he withdrew to *Capree*; being particularly pleas'd with the Island, because it was accessible only by one narrow Haven, and was encompass'd with rugged Rocks of an immense Height, and with a very deep Sea. The earnest Prayers of the People immediately recalling him, on Account of a lamentable Accident at † *Fidena*, where above twenty Thousand Persons were destroy'd by the Fall of an Amphitheatre at a Shew of Gladiators, he pass'd over to the Continent, and admitted every one to his Presence; the rather, because at his Departure from the City, he had forbid by an Edict any Man to break in upon him, and wou'd see no Company in his Journey.

41. Being return'd to the Island, he so intirely abandon'd the Care of the State, that he never afterwards fill'd up the Decuries of the Knights, nor chang'd the Tribunes and Prefects of the Army, nor the Governors of the Provinces. He left *Spain* and *Syria* for some Years without Consular Prefecture, and suffer'd *Armenia* to be seiz'd by the *Parthians*, *Messa* by the *Daci* and the *Sarmatians*, and both the *Gauls* to be wasted by the *Germans*, to the inexpressible Dishonour and Danger of the Empire.

42. In a Word, finding himself now in secret, and as it were at a Distance from the Eyes of the City, he let loose at once all those Vices he had a long Time ill dissembled; of which I shall give a particular Relation. At his first coming to the

Army,

† A Temple erected there, in Imitation of the celebrated Capitol at Rome.

‖ A Town on the Tiber, at a small Distance from Rome.

Army, for his excessive Love of Wine, he was call'd
 * *Biberius* instead of *Tiberius*; instead of *Claudius*,
 † *Calidus*; and †† *Mere* instead of *Nero*. And when
 he was Emperor, even while he was reforming the
 Publick Manners, he spent two whole Days and a
 Night in rioting and drinking with *Pomponius Flaccus*
 and † *L. Piso*; the first of whom he presently made
 Governor of the Province of *Syria*, and the other
 Prefect of the City; stiling them also in their Patents,
 his dearest Companions, and his Dearest-Friends. He in-
 vited himself to Supper with *Sestius Gallus*, a lecherous
 and extravagant old Fellow, who was formerly brand-
 ed by *Augustus*, and whom he had himself but a few
 Days before reprimanded in the Senate, and made
 him engage he wou'd neither change nor abridge
 any Thing in his usual Manner of Entertaining, and
 that they shou'd be waited on by naked Girls. He
 prefer'd a very obscure Person to the Questorship
 before the noblest Candidates, because when he
 drank to him once at Table, he took off a whole
 † *Amphora* at a Pull. He gave *Affellius Sabinus* Two
 Hundred Thousand Sesterces for a Dialogue, in
 which

* From *bibo*, to drink.

† 'Tis likely from the Word *caldus*, the same as *cali-*
dus, hot; to signify his drinking strong Liquors.

†† From *Merum*, Wine.

‡ Seneca says, this *Piso* was a snuff'd Set; that he
 ply'd the Flaggon hard all Night, and never rose till
 Noon; and yet, which is very uncommon, notwithstanding
 his Debaucheries, he was an excellent Governor, and dis-
 charg'd his Office perfectly well.

† A large Vessel with two Handles, from whence it
 had the Name. It is said to contain about nine Gallons
 of liquid Measure; but it being plainly impossible for any
 Man to take off such a Quantity at a Draught, it will
 be necessary to understand this of the *Amphora* of dry
 Measure, which was smaller, and according to *Budæus*,
 held two Pints.

which he introduc'd the Mushroom and the Fig-
Pecker, the Oyster and the Thrush disputing toge-
ther. Lastly, he instituted a new Office of Master
of his Pleasures, which he bestow'd on *T. Gasparius*
Priscus, a Roman Knight.

43. At his Retreat in *Caprea*, he invented a secret
Apartment for acting private Lusts; where having
drawn together a Number of Girls and Catamites,
and Devils of monstrous Conjunctions whom he
call'd * *Spintria*, they were plac'd in three Rows,
and defil'd themselves mutually before him, to a-
waken his languid Appetite with the Sight. He
had also Chambers variously contriv'd, which he
furnish'd with the most lascivious Pictures and Fi-
gures, and with the Books of † *Elephantis*, that no
one might want a proper Pattern to instruct him in
the lewd Action he order'd him to perform. He
provided Scenes of Venerie also in the Woods and
Groves, where the Youth of both Sexes prostituted
themselves in Dens and Caverns of the Rocks, in
the Habit of Nymphs and little *Pans*. Hence, in
Allusion to the common Name of the Island, the
People now openly call'd him †† *Caprinus*.

44. But he was inflam'd with a Passion yet more
prodigious and vile, which is scarcely fit to be re-
lated or heard, and is almost beyond Belief. As
that he train'd up Boys very young, whom he call'd
little Fishes, to play about between his Thighs, and
to fasten with their Mouths; and even took sturdy
Infants not yet wean'd from the Breast, and employ'd
them in the same Service; for both his Nature and
Age inclin'd him most to this execrable Lust.
Where-

* Perhaps from the Greek Word *conjug*, a Spark;
because they made it their Business to invent and inflame
abominable Lusts.

† A scandalous Author, who wrote upon the most ob-
scene Subjects.

†† From *Caper*, a Goat.

Wherefore when one of *Parrhasius's* Paintings, in which *Atalanta* was drawn acting thus with *Meleager*, was left him for a Legacy, with a Proviso that if the Subject offended him, he might receive * Ten Hundred Thousand Sesterces instead of it, he not only chose the Picture, but even hung it up in his Bed-Chamber. 'Tis said also, that he was so smitten once as he was sacrificing, with the Face of the Lad who held the Censer, that he cou'd not forbear, but almost before the Rites were well finish'd, he took him aside, and immediately debauch'd him and his Brother who play'd the Pipe; and afterwards broke both their Legs, because they upbraided each other with the Shame.

45. How excessively he was wont to abuse Women, and even those of Quality, appears evidently by the Case of one *Mallonia*; who was brought to him by his Pimps, and absolutely refusing to gratify him farther in his detested Demands, he suborn'd Fellows to accuse her before him, and was continually asking her at the Trial, *Whether she did not repent it?* till at last she broke out of Court, and ran Home and stabb'd herself, having first openly reproach'd the beastly old Leacher with his Obscenity. Hence in the † *Atellanic* Interlude at the next Games, a Satirical Reflection, which was wonderfully applauded, flew about among the People, *Hircus vetulum capreis naturam ligavit.*

46. He was very sparing and niggardly in parting with Money, never allowing a Salary to those who attended him in his Expeditions and Travels, but only finding them their Diet. Yet by the Instigation of his Father-in-Law, he perform'd one Act of Liberality;

* 25000 Crowns.

† A Sort of obscene and satirical Farce, play'd at the End of Comedies. It was invented by the Inhabitants of *Atella*, a City of Campania, who were noted for *Loquaciousness*.

Liberality; When having divided his Train into three Classes, according to every one's Quality, he gave * Six Hundred Thousand Sesterces to the first, to the second † Four Hundred Thousand, and ‡ two Hundred Thousand to the third, which he call'd the Class, not of Friends, but of *Greeks*.

47. He built no magnificent Works after he was Emperor. For the Temple of *Augustus*, and the Repairing of *Pompey's Theatre*, which were the only Things of this Kind he ever undertook, after several Years he left unfinish'd. He neither exhibited

Shews

* 15000 Crowns.

† 10000 Crowns.

‡ 5000 Crowns.

|| This Class was the lowest in Order, and was nam'd the Grecian in Contempt. For the Greeks, who had made so noble and illustrious a Figure both in Arts and Arms while they were a free People, as soon as Liberty was d. parted from them, sunk in their Character at once, and their Minds became as low and object as their Condition. Of the Lords and Arbiters of Nations, and Masters of Political Wisdom, and Natural and Moral Philosophy to the rest of the Heathen World, they were debas'd into a despicable Race of Sycophants, Pimps, Buffoons and Panders to the Romans their Conquerors. See the third Satire of *Juvenal*, where they are expos'd at large for all these Vices. So impossible is it under a State of Servitude, to preserve the Dignity of the Mind, and a Spirit of Publick Virtue and Honour. The present Greeks also who are Slaves to the Turks, are a standing Confirmation of this Truth.

* *Augustus* shew'd a Conduct quite different and more judicious. For he entertain'd the People with Games and Shews, and all Sorts of Diversions, beyond what had been known; and thereby made himself and his Government more acceptable to them, and more secure. But *Tiberius's* Moroseness render'd himaverse to these Popular Arts, and his Fears were remov'd, and he thought himself out of Danger.

Shews himself, nor was often present at those which were given by others, lest the People shou'd take that Opportunity to demand some Favours of him; as once at such a Time he was oblig'd to grant *Aelius* the Comedian his Freedom. He reliev'd the Necessities of a few Senators; and to excuse himself from doing the like Benefit to more, declar'd, * he wou'd assist none, unless they had made it appear to the Senate, that their Necessities were real and innocent: By which Means he deterr'd several from applying to him, thro' Modesty and Shame; among whom was *Hortalus*, the Grandson of *Hortensius* the Orator, who had marry'd at the Instance of *Augustus*, and brought up † four Children, tho' he had a very small Estate.

44. His Acts of Publick Munificence were only two. Once he gave Notice he wou'd lend a †† Hundred Millions of Sesterces without Interest, for three Years; and another time he made good their Loss
to

* There is nothing shews the Ill-Nature of Tiberius more fully, than this Declaration. For to a generous Mind, to publish its Necessities, is more painful than to bear them.

† The Romans encourag'd Marriage, and discountenanc'd a single Life, by several Provisions. *Augustus* made a very strict Law to this Purpose, p. 86. And the *Jus trium Liberorum*, the Privilege of him who was Father of three Children, is well known. By this he was excus'd from serving in any troublesome Offices; and if he was a Pleader, his Motion was receiv'd in Court before another's who had not that Number of Children. It was a great Inhumanity and Injustice therefore in Tiberius, since *Hortalus* had marry'd in Compliance with the Desire of *Augustus*, tho' his Estate was scarcely large enough to support a Family, and was now the Father of four Children, and the Customs and Law of his Country were so much in his Favour, not to assist him and relieve him in his Want.

†† 2500000 Crowns.

to some Landlords, who had their Houses burnt down on the *Calian* Mount. The first Piece of Generosity was forc'd from him by the Importunities of the People for Redress in a great Scarcity of Money, when he had procur'd a Decree of the Senate, that Usurers shou'd employ * two Parts of their Patrimony in purchasing Land, and that the Debtors shou'd immediately pay off the same Proportion of their Debts; which was never done. And he was constrain'd to do the last, to lighten the Oppressions of the Times. And he had so high an Opinion of his Generosity in it, that he order'd the Name of Mount *Calius* to be chang'd, and that it shou'd be call'd *Augustus*. After his doubling the Legacy which was left them by *Augustus's* Will, he never bestow'd any Largeſs on the Soldiers, beside a † Thousand Denaries a Man to the Pretorian Guards, for not joining with *Sejanus*; and some Presents to the Legions in *Syria*, because they alone had not carry'd *Sejanus's* †† Picture in their Ensigns. He seldom discharg'd the Veteranes, but let them drop off with Age, to save the Expence of the Premiums they were to receive at their Dismission. Nor did any Provinces partake of his Bounty, except *Asia*, where some Cities were overturn'd by an Earthquake.

49. In a short Time he abandon'd himself also to downright Rapine and Oppression. It is well known, that he made *Cn. Lentulus*, the Augur, who had a noble Estate, weary of his Life thro' Vexation and Fear, and wou'd not suffer him to appoint any one for his Heir but himself; and that he condemn'd

Lepido,

* Two Parts in three.

† 1000 *Grants*.

†† The Romans us'd to carry little Images of their Gods, and afterwards of their Generals and Emperors, in a small Shield fasten'd to the upper End of the Staff of the Ensign, just below the transverse Joynt.

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Lepida, a Woman of a very honourable Family, to oblige *Quirinus*, a rich Consular Man without Children, who had divorc'd her twenty Years before, and now accus'd her of a Design, long since form'd, to poyson him; that he confiscated also the Patrimonies of the Princes of Gaul and Spain, Syria and Greece, for the most trivial and shameless Objections, some being impeach'd of nothing but having † part of their Estate in Money; that he divested many Cities also and private Men of their ancient Immunities, of a Propriety in the Mines, and an Exemption from Subsidies: Nay, that *Venones*, King of the *Parthians*, who was expell'd by his Subjects, and had thrown himself upon the Faith of the Roman People, and fled to *Antioch* with an immense Treasure, was perfidiously spoil'd and murder'd.

so. He discover'd his Hatred of his Relations first in his Behaviour to his Brother *Drusus*, exposing his

* In hope *Quirinus* wou'd leave his Estate to him. For in the Degeneracy of the Roman Times, Persons of the first Quality were not ashamed to make Court, in the basest Manner, to any rich old Fellow who had no Children:

Sentire calorem
Si cœpit locuples Gallita & Paccius orbi, &c.
Juv. Sat. 12.

If childless *Paccius*, with his vast Estate,
Complain he's indispos'd, his Portal strait
Swarms with a busy Multitude, who there
For his dear Health their hearty Vows declare.

† There had been an old Law among the Romans, which *Julius Cæsar* afterwards reviv'd, that forbade any to have in their Hands above such a Summ of Money. *Tiberius* seems to have taken the Advantage of this Law to gratify his Avarice; as if the Foreign Princes had been bound to observe it.

his Letter in which he treated with him about forcing *Augustus* to restore the Publick Liberty; and afterwards, in his Actions toward the rest. † He was so far from doing even the least Offices of Duty or Humanity to his Wife *Julia* after she was banish'd, that when by her Father's Order she was restrain'd to the Limit of a single Town, he forbid her also to stir out of the House, or to use any Conversation; and even defrauded her of the Allowance granted by her Father, and of her Annual Income, under a Pretence of Publick Justice, because *Augustus* had left no Orders about it in his Will. He grew weary of his Mother *Livia*, as if she affected an equal Share of Power; and avoided to come often into her Company; and wou'd never be long with her in private, lest he shou'd seem to be directed by her Counsels, tho' he sometimes both stood in need of them, and us'd them. He also took it extremely ill, that the Senate had caus'd it to be inserted among his Titles, that he was the Son of *Livia*, as well as of *Augustus*; and therefore he neither suffer'd her to be styl'd Parent of her Country, nor to receive any eminent Publick Honour: He us'd often to admonish her to abstain from Affairs of Moment, as not proper for a Woman; especially * after he had found her in Person at a Fire near *Vesta's* Temple, calling out to the Soldiers and the People, as her Way had been in her Husband's Life-time, and encouraging them to work amain.

§1. At last he proceeded to a real Hatred of her, as tis said, upon this Occasion: *Livia* having often press'd him to enroll a certain Person, who was made Free of the City, in the Order of Judges, he refus'd to do it, but upon Condition she wou'd consent

† See the Note, pag. 177.

* He was particularly alarm'd at this, because such Actions wou'd render her Popular; and he was afraid of the Consequences.

sent it shou'd be inserted in the Record, *That the Excellence was extorted from him by his Mother.* Being enraged at this, she fetch'd out of her Cabinet some old Papers *Agassus* had sent her, concerning his insolent and intollerable Manners, and read them openly. These Letters, which were preserv'd so long, and contain'd so severe a Charge against him, touch'd him so deeply, that some think this was the principal Cause of his † Retirement. 'Tis certain in the whole three Years he was absent from the City, during his Mother's Life, he saw her but once, and then only for a few Hours: After which, he never concern'd himself to visit her in her Sickness; and when she was dead he held them so long in Expectation of his Arrival, for several Days, that the Body corrupted before the Burial; and he forbade her to be consecrated after the Funerals, pretending she had made it her own Command. He also set aside her Will; and in a short time persecuted all her Friends and familiar Acquaintance, even those to whom she had commended the Care of her Funerals at her Death, one of them, who was a Person of the Equestrian Order, being condemn'd to the ** Wheel.

52. He

† To Caprea.

** To draw up Water by a Wheel. The Drudgery of working up Water was a Punishment us'd by the Ancients. We find it as old as the Time of Joshua, the Gideonites being condemn'd to it for their Treachery. And Homer speaks of it, when Hector in his last Speech to Andromache, among other Calamities she wou'd suffer in Captivity after his Death, mentions this;

Καὶ κατ' ὕψους ποταμοῖς Μεμονῆσθαι ἢ Τάγχεας.
Πλάτ' ἀνὰ ζυγῶν &c. *Iamb. ζ.*

Then from deep Wells the living Stream to take,
And on thy weary Shoulders bring it back.

Mr. Dryden.

52. He neither lov'd his own Son *Drusus*, nor *Germanicus*, whom he had adopted, with the Affection of a Father. He was provok'd with the Vices of the first; for *Drusus* was very lascivious in his Temper, and of a very dissolute Life. Therefore his Death gave him no Concern, but almost as soon as the Funerals were over he return'd to Business, as before; and forbid the Courts of Law to make a longer Adjournment. And the *Roman* Ambassadors coming to condole him something of the best, he answer'd them in Ridicule, as if he had entirely lost all Remembrance of his Sorrow, *That he was griev'd at his Heart for their Misfortune in losing their Noble Countryman, Hector.* He so set himself to lessen and defame *Germanicus*, that he beat down his celebrated Actions as Trifles, and slander'd his most glorious Victories as pernicious to the State: He complain'd of him to the Senate, because upon the Occasion of a great and unexpected Famine, he had march'd to † *Alexandria* without asking his Permission: And * he

† *Egypt* being a Granary to Rome, and the Avenues of it easily maintain'd by a small Force, it was justly regarded with a jealous Eye by the Emperors. *Julius Cæsar* knew the Importance of it, and was therefore afraid to trust it in the Power of a Governor, see pag. 21. And it is likely *Tiberius* took occasion, from this March of *Germanicus* to *Alexandria*, the Capital of *Egypt* and a Sea-Port, at the Time of a Famine in Italy, to insinuate to the Senate, that he had ill Designs upon the State, in possessing himself of so necessary a Town at such a critical Juncture, by which it was in his Power to distress them, unless they comply'd with his Demands.

* The Circumstances of *Germanicus's* Death are related more at large in the Life of *Caligula*, and by *Tacitus* in his Annals, Book 2. From the whole History there is no Reason to doubt *Tiberius's* being the Author of his Death. The shining Vertues of *Germanicus* plac'd *Tiberius's* Vices in a stronger Light, and the Humanity and amiable

is believ'd to have been the Author of his Death, by the Means of Cn. Piso, the Lieutenant of Syria; who, as some are of Opinion, wou'd afterwards have produc'd the Mandate for the Murder, if he had not been enjoin'd in it to keep it private. The People therefore made furious Exclamations, and often call'd out in the Nights, *Give us back Germanicus*. And he confirm'd the Suspicion, by his cruel Treatment of Germanicus's Wife and Children.

53. His Daughter-in-Law Agrippina, complaining something freely after her Husband's Death. *Then my dear Child*, says he, taking her by the Hand, and repeating a Greek Verse, *if you don't govern, you think you are injur'd*; and wou'd not vouchsafe to hold any Discourse with her afterwards. And because she wou'd not venture to taste some Apples he presented to her once at Supper, he invited her no more, pretending she had tax'd him with a Design to poyson her; tho' it was all a concerted Thing,

L

both

amiable Temper of the one, made the Sourness and Barbarity of the other the more detest'd. This was a capital Offence to a Tyrant, and cou'd only be atton'd by the Life of the Person, whose Merits gave him so much Pain and Disgrace. Claudian has drawn a like beautiful Opposition of Character in Stilicho and Rufinus:

Certamen sublime diu, sed moribus impar, &c.

*Fierce was the Fight; in Manners most oppos'd
The Chiefs appear'd, who in the Combat clos'd.
Of this all Virtues dignify'd the Mind;
In that all Vices were at once combin'd.
That to the Throat the pointed Dagger bends;
This wards the Mischief, and the Blow suspends.
That spoils the Wealthy, this supplies the Poor;
That ruins, this the Wretched does restore.
That kindles Wars, and seeks the lawless Fight;
This wins the Conquest, and asserts the Right.*

both that he shou'd offer the Fruit in order to try her, and that she shou'd refuse it as a certain Death. Lastly, having falsely reproach'd her, that at one time she intended to take Sanctuary at Augustus's Statue, and at another to fly to the Army, he banish'd her to * *Pandataria*; and when she upbraided him with it, he had her scourg'd by a Centurion, who with the Lashes struck out one of her Eyes. And when she resolv'd to starve her self to Death, he order'd them to wrest open her Mouth, and cram Food down her Throat by Force. But she persisting in her Resolution, and so pining away, he attempted to fix a vile Blemish upon her Memory, moving to have her Birth-Day plac'd among the † *Dies Nefasti*. He also made it an extraordinary Piece of Favour in himself, that he had not caus'd her to be strangled and thrown upon the ‡ *Gemonie*; and even suffer'd a Decree to be pass'd, that Thanks shou'd be given him for this wonderful Clemency, and a Gift of Gold be consecrated to *Jupiter Capitolinus*.

54. By *Germanicus* he had three Grandsons, *Nero*, *Drusus*, and *Caius*; and only one by *Drusus*, namely, *Tiberius*: And being left without Progeny by the Death of his own Children, he recommended *Nero* and *Drusus*, the two eldest of *Germanicus*'s Sons, to the

* *An Island in the Tyrrhenic Sea, to which several Persons of noble Rank were banish'd.*

† *Unlucky Days.*

‡ *Gemonie, viz. Scale.* Vossius in his *Etymologicon* says, they were a deep Well with Stairs, into which they cast the Bodies of Malefactors. But according to *Suetonius*, it seems to be rather a large Gibbet, with a Number of Steps leading up to it, on which the Bodies were thrown after Execution, and left expos'd to the Fury and Scorn of the People: As Criminals are now in France and Flanders laid upon a Wheel at the Top of a long Pole, and there left to perish, after their Joints have been broken by the Executioner.

the Senate, and celebrated the Day of their † Inauguration with giving a Largess to the People. But when he saw at the Beginning of the Year, Vows were also publickly offer'd for their Health, * he represented to the Senate, *That such Honours were not proper to be imparted to any but Persons something advanc'd in Years, and of whom they had receiv'd some Experience.* And from this Time he plainly discover'd the secret Inclinations of his Mind; for he expos'd them to every one's Accusations and Virulence: And having by several Wiles, in order to destroy them, provok'd them to reflect upon him, and to use some Asperity of Language, he accus'd them to the Senate by a Letter, and even loaded them very furiously with the most invidious Reproaches. When they were pronounc'd Traytors, he starv'd them to Death; *Nero* in the Island † *Pentia*, and *Drusus* in the farther Part of the *Palatium*. Some think, the Sight of the Executioner displaying his x Halters and Hooks, as if he were sent by the Authority of the Senate to practise them upon him, so affected *Nero*, that he put an End to his Life with

L 2

his

† *Tirocinium.* It signifies their taking the Gown of Manhood, and being introduc'd to Pleading in the Forum.

* *Tiberius* was alarm'd at the extraordinary Affection the People express'd to these Youths, by paying to them voluntarily, without waiting for an Order from him, an Honour which belong'd to the Emperor and his Family. He consider'd also whose Sons they were, and was apprehensive they might be incited by their Popularity to attempt something in Revenge of their Father's Death; and therefore determin'd to secure himself by taking them off.

† An Island on the South Side of Italy, near *Pandavia*, mention'd just above.

x After they were strangled with the Halter, the Executioner struck the Hook into the Malefactors Bodies, and dragg'd them thro' the Streets with a Rope to the *Gemonian Gibbet*.

his own Hands. *Drusus* was kept from Food so strictly, that he attempted to * eat the Flocks out of the Bed. The Bodies of both were † so mangled and dispers'd, that scarcely any Part of them cou'd be afterwards recover'd.

55. Beside his old Friends and familiar Acquaintance, he chose to himself Twenty out of the Principal *Romans*, to be in the Nature of a Council upon the Publick Affairs. Of all these, hardly two or three escap'd him; the rest upon some Account or other were cut off: Among them was *Ælius Sejanus*, whose Fall was accompany'd with the Ruin of many others. *Tiberius* had advanc'd this Man to the highest Pitch of Power, not so much out of Affection to him, as that by the Means of his Treacheries and Cunning, he might circumvent *Germanicus's* Sons, and secure the Succession of the Empire to his own †† Grandchild by *Drusus*, who was immediately of his Line.

56. Nor did he treat the x *Greeklings*, his Table-Companions, in whose Conversation he took the greatest Pleasure, more tenderly. For as one of them, *Zeno*, was uttering a very florid Oration before him, he ask'd him, *What hideous Dialect it was that he us'd?* And *Zeno* answering, the *Durick*, he banish'd him to || *Cinaria*, because he imagin'd he upbraided

* Tacitus says, that *Drusus* kept himself alive thus for nine Days.

† Left if they fell into the Hands of the People, the Sight of them shou'd excite their Compassion the more, and enrage them against himself for his Cruelty. Thus *Henry III.* of France caus'd the Bodies of the Duke of Guise and his Brother the Cardinal, whom he had murder'd, to be consumed privately in the Castle of Blois, that the People might not make Reliques of them.

†† *Tiberius*.

x See Page 210.

|| One of the Grecian Islands, call'd *Sporades*; the Situation of it is very uncertain.

upbraided him with his former Retirement at *Rhodes*, for the *Rhadians* spoke the *Durick*. It being his Custom also to propose Questions at Supper from what he had read in the Day, when he found that *Selenus* the Grammarian had enquir'd of his Servants what were the Authors he commonly read, and thereby came prepar'd; he first remov'd him from his Table, and afterwards forc'd him to destroy himself.

57. This cruel and relentless Nature of his, shew'd it self in him even while he was a Boy, and was first observ'd by *Theodorus Gadareus*, his Preceptor in Rhetorick; who seem'd to make a very apt Allusion to it, when he styl'd him sometimes as he reprov'd him, *πλὴν αἵματι πικρῷ μύρον*, *A Lump of Clay Enceaded up with Blood*. But it appear'd more plainly when he was Emperor, even * at the Beginning of his Reign, while as yet he was courting the good Opinion of the People by a pretended Moderation. For a Player, as a Funeral was passing by, calling out to the Dead Man, and charging him to tell *Augustus*, *The Legacies he left the People were not yet paid*; he had him seiz'd, and paid him down his Share, and immediately sent him away to be executed, commanding him to go now and † tell *Augustus* the Truth. And not long after, one *Pompeius* a Roman Knight, refusing to come into his Measures in the Senate, as he threaten'd to lay him

L 3

in

* There cannot be a stronger Proof of the violent Propensity of his Temper to Oppression and Barbarity, than his giving way to it at a Time when he knew how extremely the People were prejudic'd against him, and that he stood in need of all the Arts of Insinuation and Address to gain upon their Mind.

† That all the Legacies were not unpaid, for he had now receiv'd his own.

in Irons, he assur'd him, That of *Pompeius* he wou'd certainly become a *Pompeian*; by a barbarous Jest striking at the Name of the Man, and the Fortune of the old *Pompeian* Faction.

58. About the same Time, the Pretor asking him whether the Courts shou'd proceed upon the Crime of High Treason; *The Laws*, he answer'd, must be executed: And executed they were, with the last Severity. A certain Person had taken off the † Head of *Augustus's* Statue, in order to place another upon it, the Matter was brought into the Senate; and because the Evidence was not direct and certain, some were put to the Torture. The Offender was condemn'd; and this sort of Crime was at last extended so far, that it was made Capital for any one to scourge his Slave, or change his Cloaths near a Statue of *Augustus*; or to have carry'd his Effigies stamp'd on a Piece of Money, or in a Ring, into a Privy-House or the Stews; or even to express a disrespectful Judgment concerning any of his Words or Actions. In short, he was a lost Man, who suffer'd Honours to be decreed him on the same Day on which they had formerly been decreed to *Augustus*.

59. He acted many other Things also, under a Shew of Discipline and of reforming the Manners, but

* *Pompey* and his Party were ruin'd; and *Tiberius* here insinuated to this Gentleman, that if he went on to oppose him, he wou'd share the same Fate, and make himself in his Fortune, and perhaps lose his Life as *Pompey* did.

* The Pretor was doubtful, perhaps, whether *Tiberius* wou'd not avoid Acts of Severity, and chuse gentler Methods. But he had too high a Taste of Cruelty to lose any Occasion of exercising it.

† This was not meant as an Indignity to *Augustus's* Memory; for it was a Custom with the Antients to change the Heads of Statues.

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but rather in Compliance with his Natural Temper, so full of Cruelty and Rage, that some lash'd him in their Verses for his present Barbarities, and also foretold his future.

Asper & immitis, breviter vis omnia dicam? &c.

Untam'd and fell; to say it all in one,
I'll lay my Life, thy Mother hates her Son.
No Knight thou art; and a good Reason why,
Thy beggar'd Fortune cou'd not rise so high:
And, all thy Honours briefly to display,
Banish'd to Rhodes we saw thee sent away.
The Golden Age is put to Flight by thee,
While thou surviv'st, 'twill still an *Iron* be.
Wine he abhors, and in his lordly Mood
Scorns vulgar Draughts, his Thirst is all for Blood;
With greater Gust he quaffs the reeking Gore,
Than his wide Swallow swill'd the Grape before.
* See sullen *Sylla* fierce with Conquest here,
And *Marius* from his Banishment appear,
And all the † Civil Wars of *Anthony* severe.
Behold his Hands in frequent Murders dy'd,
Then sighing say, *Rome* is at length destroy'd;
For Seas of Blood his barb'rous Reign attend,
Who call'd from Exile do's a Throne ascend.

At first, he endeavour'd to make these Reflections pass for the Expressions of Persons who were impatient of the Remedies he was applying to the Disorders of the State, and as proceeding not so much from their real Sentiments, as from Prejudice and

L 4

Passion;

* Alluding to the barbarous Proscription made by *Sylla* after he had crush'd the *Marian* Faction, and by *Maximus* when he return'd to *Rome*, after he had been driven away into Exile.

† Mark *Anthony* was engag'd in the Civil War with *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and in another with *Augustus*.

Passion; and us'd often to repeat, *Oderint, dum pro-*
bent, Let them pretend to hate, so long as in their Judg-
ment they approve me. But in a short Time he con-
vinc'd the World, these Lines were certain Truths,
and the Author's real Meaning.

60. A Fisherman breaking in upon him unexpect-
edly in his private Retirement, a few Days after his
Arrival at *Caprea*, and presenting him with a pro-
digious Mullet, he order'd his Face to be scrub'd
over with the Fish; being in a Consternation, that
the Fellow had found a Passage thro' the rough and
untrodden Parts of the farther Quarter of the Island.
And the poor Man rejoicing he had not presented
him also with a huge Lobster which he had taken,
he commanded them to scratch his Face over again
with the Lobster. He put a Pretorian Soldier to
Death, for stealing a Peacock out of his Garden.
His Litter in which he was carry'd, being stop'd by
the Bushes on the Road, he caus'd the Officer that
led the Way, who was a Centurion of the first Co-
hort of a Legion, to be laid flat on the Ground, and
scourg'd almost to Death.

61. He broke out now into all manner of Cruel-
ties, for which he never wanted a Subject. His
Rage was exercis'd first on the Friends, and even
the Acquaintance of his Mother, then of his Grand-
sons and his Daughter-in-Law, and lastly of *Sejanus*;
* after whose Death he was beyond measure barbarous;
By which it appear'd, *Sejanus* us'd not so much to pro-
voke him to those Actions, as to find him an Occa-
sion for them when he desir'd it. Tho' in a short,
succinct Commentary he compos'd of his own Life,
he has the Boldness to say, That he punish'd *Sejanus*,
because he observ'd him full of Malice against his Son *Ger-*
manicus's Children; of whom he cut off one while
Sejanus

* The Treachery of *Sejanus* made him universally sus-
picious, and provok'd him to destroy a great Number both
out of Revenge and Fear.

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Sejanus was under Suspicion with him, and the other after his Execution. To trace his bloody Deeds particularly, wou'd be tedious; it will be sufficient to give a general Account of them, as standing Examples of Inhumanity. No Day pass'd over without Punishments; no, not Days consecrated and set apart to Religion. He caus'd some to suffer at the * Beginning of the New Year; and several who were accus'd and condemn'd, had their Children, and even their Wives involv'd with them in the same Sentence. The Relations of those who were adjudg'd to die, were forbidden to mourn for them, and great Rewards were decreed to any that accus'd them of it, and sometimes to the Witnesses. No Informer's Reputation was question'd, or his Evidence refus'd. Every Crime was made Capital, even the Offence only of a few harmless Words. Thus it was objected to a Poet, that he had vilify'd † Agamemnon in a Tragedy, and to an Historian, ‡ that

L 5 he

* The Beginning of the Year was a Festival, and was observ'd with Publick Joy, to give an auspicious Omen to the whole. And therefore Tiberius's putting Persons to Death at this Time, is mention'd among other Acts of unusual Severity.

† He imagin'd, what the Poet had wrote in Disparagement of Agamemnon, was intended against himself; and that he had only observ'd the same Precaution as Juvenal did afterwards, to lash him in the Person of another.

—experiar, quid concedatur in illos,
Quorum Flaminia regitur cinis atq; Latina,
Sat.

Since none the living Villains dare implead;
Assign them in the Persons of the Dead.

Mr. Dryden.

‡ Brutus and Cassius slai'd Julius Cæsar, the first Emperor. To term them the last Romans, he understood so

be

he had said, Brutus and Cassius were the last Romans. The Authors were immediately proceeded against, and their Writings abolish'd, tho' they were approv'd of some Years before, and had been rehear'd to Augustus. Several who were held in Custody, were not only deny'd the Liberty of diverting themselves by Reading, but were also interdicted all Conversation and Discourse. And some who were cird to the Bar, where they were sure to be condemn'd, stabb'd themselves at Home, to avoid Vexation and Disgrace; or drank Poyson in the Court, yet their Wounds were bound up, and they were half'd away half dead and gasping to Prison. Not one who suffer'd, but was thrown upon the German Gibbet, and dragg'd thro' the Streets with a Hook. † Twenty were serv'd thus in one Day; among whom were some Boys and Women. Custom having made it unlawful to strangle Virgins, the young Girls were †† first defil'd by the Hangman, and then strangled. Those

be commending the AEs, and reproaching the People for not adventuring to imitate them, and treat him in the same Manner. The Historian's Name was Crematius Cordus; after he had made his Vindication to the Senate, he withdrew and starv'd himself to Death. His Writings were order'd to be burnt; yet several Copies were privately preserv'd.

* They were afraid of being made Spectacles of Publick Infamy, and suffering the Shame of a common Execution; or that after a pretended Trial, they shou'd be left to pine away in a Course of tedious Torture, according to the known Practice of Tiberius.

† Liphius is of Opinion the Number is mistaken here; and that it shou'd be Two Hundred instead of Twenty. He supposes it to be originally wrote in Figures, which some ignorant Transcriber mistook when he went to put them into Words.

†† So brutal an Expedient to observe the antient Custom, was an Aggravation of his Cruelty.

Those who desir'd to die, were kept alive by Force. For he thought Death alone so light a Punishment; that hearing a Criminal, *Cornelius* by Name, had kill'd himself, he cry'd out, *Cornelius has escap'd*. And one of the Prisoners begging him, as he was looking over the Roll, to hasten his Execution, he answer'd, *I am not reconcil'd to you yet*. A Consular Man has insert'd it in his Annals, that at a great Feast, where he himself was also present, a certain Dwarf who stood by the Table among the Buffoons, suddenly ask'd him aloud, why *Pacinius*, who was guilty of Treason, was suffer'd to live so long: He reprov'd his Sauciness at the Time, but after a few Days he wrote to the Senate, that *Pacinius* shou'd be executed without Delay.

62. The Discovery concerning his Son *Drusus's* Death, provok'd him to increase his Cruelty, and make it more general. He thought he had dy'd of a Distemper, contracted by his Intemperance; but finding at last, he was poyson'd by the Treachery of his Wife *Livilla* and *Sejanus*, he spar'd no Man, but tortur'd and put to Death without Distinction; and was so entirely engag'd in the Prosecution of this Discovery for several Days together, that hearing his Host who entertain'd him at *Rhodes*, and whom he had invited to *Rome* by a very friendly Letter, was now arriv'd, he commanded him to be immediately put to the Torture, as if it had been an Accessory brought to be examin'd; and afterwards perceiving the * Mistake, he caus'd him to be slain, that he might not publish the Injury. The Place where his Executions were made, is still to be seen at *Cæstia*.

* The Error seems to have been, *Tiberius's* mistaking this Man for another Person, and not his fancying him to have been concern'd in the Murder, when he was not. His Mistake of the Person, might be occasion'd by the Name, or some Expressions in the Message those deliver'd to him, who acquainted him with the Arrival of his Host.

pro: From whence, after long and exquisite Tortures, he order'd the condemn'd Persons to be cast down before his Face into the Sea, where a * Company of Rowers receiv'd them, and broke their Bones with their Poles and Oars, lest there shou'd be any Life remaining in them. Among other Kinds of Torture which he invented, one was to draw in the poor Wretches to drink a great Quantity of Wine, and presently to tie their Members with a Lute-String, that he might rack them at once with the Gisting of the String, and with the Pressure of Urine. And unless Death had prevented him, and *Thrasyllus*, as they say, over-rul'd him to defer several Butcheries, by flattering him on purpose with Hope of a longer Life, it is thought he wou'd have dispatch'd many more, and even not have spar'd his Grand-Children which were left; since he suspected *Caius*, and despis'd *Tiberius* as begotten in Adultery. Nor was this Opinion wide of the Truth; for he often † said, *Priam was a happy Man, because he outliv'd all his Offspring.* 63. Amidst

* Thus Caligula, having drawn together a prodigious Crowd upon a Bridge of his own creeling, diverted himself with causing them to be thrown over into the Sea, and seeing them knock'd on the Head there, as they were swimming for their Lives.

† This Expression plainly shew'd his Desire to have his Family extinguish'd, and the infinite Cruelty and Malignancy of his Temper: He wou'd otherwise have regarded *Priam's* Condition as the most calamitous and deplorable, for a Father in his old Age, to see a numerous Issue cut off before his Eyes.

Αὐτὸς ἦν νῦν ἡμῶν, ἐπεὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν
 Τετὴν ἐς ὧρον. Ἄνδ' ἔτι νῦν οὐκ ἀλλοτρίωται.
 12. 2.

But I, the Father of so large a Race,
 As did of late our spacious City grace,
 Unhappy now, my perish'd Offspring mourn,
 A Childless Parent, helpless and forlorn.

The

TIBERIUS NERO CESAR. 229

63. Amidst all this, not only how universally hated and detested he was, but also how full of Fears and Terrors he liv'd, and under what continual Alarms, is apparent by several Instances. He forbade any to † consult the *Aruspices* in Secret and without Witnesses.

The Reflection of Juvenal upon this Misfortune of Priam, is wise and moving:

Incolumi Troja Priamus venisset ad umbras, &c.

Sat. 10.

*How fortunate an End had Priam made,
Among his Ancestors a mighty Shade,
While Troy yet stood: When Hector, with the Race
Of Royal Brothers, might his Fun'ral grace;
Amidst the Tears of Trojan Dames inw'd,
And by his loyal Daughters truly mourn'd,
Had Heav'n so bless'd him, he had dy'd before
The fatal Fleet to Sparta Paris bore.
But mark what Age produc'd: He liv'd to see
His Town in Flames, his falling Monarchy;
In fate, the feeble Sire, reduc'd by Fate
To change his Scepter for a Sword, too late,
His last Effort before Jove's Altar tries,
A Soldier half, and half a Sacrifice;
Falls like an Ox that waits the coming Blow,
Old and unprofitable to the Plough.*

Mr. Dryden.

* *Lat. Contumeliis obnoxius. Salmastius is for striking out the Word Contumeliis, as inserted by some ignorant Grammarian, who did not understand how obnoxius cou'd be us'd absolutely. But his Criticism seems to have no Foundation; for Suetonius has the same Expression in the Life of Claudius, § 8.*

† *He was afraid they shou'd enquire concerning the Time of his Death; and perhaps was apprehensive they might consult them about the Success of a Conspiracy against him, and that the Answers of the Priests might embolden them to execute it.*

Witnesses. He attempted also to suppress the Oracles near the City; but being aw'd by the Oracle at Praeneste, he desisted: For when the Lots were seal'd up and sent to Rome, they could not be found in the Chest till it was sent back to the Temple. He detain'd with him two Consular Men appointed for Governors of the Provinces, so long, not daring to suffer them to depart, that at last after a few Years he nam'd Successors to them while they were yet with him on the spot; in the mean-time while they held the Title, he issu'd Instructions to them as if they were absent in their Posts; which they constantly took Care to execute by their Deputies and Assistants.

64. After

* The Original of this, according to Cicero, was thus: The Records of the Town, he says, testify that Numerius Suffucius, a Man of Noble Rank, having been terrify'd by several affrightful Dreams, was order'd in one of them to go and strike a Rock in a certain Place. His Towns-men laugh'd at him for his Folly, but he went in Obedience to the Vision and smote the Stone; it open'd at the Blow, and threw out the Lots, which were of Oak, and had the Characters of the antient Letters inscrib'd upon them. At the same Time Honey gush'd out of an Olive-Tree, and the Soothsayers declar'd, those Lots won'd become renown'd, and order'd a Chest to be made of the Wood of the Olive-Tree, in which they were deposited.

† The transporting the Lots to Rome, won'd have ruin'd the Reputation of the Temple at Praeneste; and the Superstition of the Inhabitantes undoubtedly made them very unwilling to part with their Oracle. The Heathen Priests therefore, who kept the Lots, to preserve their Power with the People and to secure their Gain, easily found a Way to defeat Tiberius's Design, by emptying the Lots aside, and sealing up the Chest without them: For the Miracle here related, was certainly produc'd after this Manner.

‡ He was afraid to let them take Possession of the Provinces, lest they shou'd make Insurrections and attempt to depose him.

TIBERIUS NERO CESAR. 231

64. After their Condemnation, he never remov'd his Daughter-in-Law and his Grand-Children to any Place, but in Chains, and in a Litter close shut up; with a Guard of Soldiers to hinder any who met them on the Way from gazing after them, or crouding about them.

65. Tho' he saw the Birth-Day of Sejanus, who was forming dangerous Designs against him, was publicly celebrated, and his Images, which were of Gold, were every where worship'd; yet he * undertook to crush him, and effected it at last with much

* From the Fearfulness and Caution of Tiberius's Temper, and the dissolute Course of Life to which he had abandon'd himself, it may be concluded, that nothing less than some extraordinary Provocation, and the apparent Necessity of pulling down this formidable Minister for his own Security, cou'd give him Resolution enough to engage in so difficult and hazardous an Affair. But his Personal Danger, and the Desire of Revenge having determin'd him to attempt it, he proceeded in it with his wonted Arts of Disguise and Treachery, which he never exerted in a more Masterly Manner, than on this Occasion; for Sejanus never suspected his Ruine was projecting, till the Tempest broke upon him, and overwhelm'd him at once. Juvenal has admirably describ'd the Fall of this exorbitant Favourite, and the Behaviour of the Common People upon it:

Ipfæ deinde rotas bigarum impasta securis, &c.

Sat. 10.

Down go the Titles; and the Statue crown'd,
Is by base Hands in the next River drown'd.
The guiltless Horses, and the Chariot Wheel,
The same Effect of vulgar Fury feel:
The Smith prepares his Hammer for the Stroke,
While the lung'd Bellows hissing Fire provoke;
Sejanus, almost lost of Roman Name,
The Great Sejanus crackles in the Flames.

Form'd

much Difficulty, by Cunning and Dissimulation, rather than by his Princely Authority. For first, that he might remove him from his Person under a Pretence of Honour, he made him his Colleague in his fifth Consulship; which for that Reason, after a long Interval,

*Form'd in the Forge, the pliant Brass is laid
On Anvils; and of Head and Limbs are made
Pans, Cans, and Piss-Pots, a whole Kitchen Trade.*

*Adorn your Doors with Laurels; and a Bull
Milk-white and large, lead to the Capitol.
Sejanus with a Rope is dragg'd along,
The Sport and Laughter of the giddy Throng.
Behold, they cry, what Æthiop Lips he has!
How foul a Snout, and what a hanging Face?
By Heav'n, I never cou'd endure his Sight:
But say, How came his monstrous Crimes to Light?
What is the Charge, and who the Evidence?
(The Saviour of the Nation and the Prince)
Nothing of this; but our old Cæsar sent
A missy Letter to his Parliament.
Nay, Sirs, if Cæsar writ, I ask no more;
He's guilty, and the Question's out of Door.*

*There was a damn'd Design, crys one, no Doubt;
For Warrants are already issu'd out:
I met Brutidius in a mortal Fright,
He's dipt for certain, and plays least in Sight.
I fear the Rage of our offended Prince,
Who thinks the Senate slack in his Defence:
Come, let us haste our loyal Zeal to shew,
And spurn the wretched Corps of Cæsar's Foe.
But let our Slaves be present there, lest they
Accuse their Masters, and for Gain betray.
Such were the Whispers of those jealous Times,
About Sejanus' Punishment and Crimes.*

Mr. Dryden:

Interval, he assum'd in his * Absence from the City : And then deluding him with the Hope of Affinity by Marriage, and of the Tribuneship, he accus'd him unexpectedly to the Senate, in a very mean and abject Letter ; where, among other Things, he intreated them to send one of the Consuls, to conduct him to them with a Guard, for he was now a poor deserted old Man. And being still diffident, and fearing an Insurrection of the People, he gave Orders that † his Grand-Son Drusus, whom he kept in Irons at Rome, shou'd be releas'd, if Things requir'd it, and be put at their Head. Ships were also laid ready for transporting him to any Legions to which he shou'd think fit to make his Flight ; and he sat watching on a very high Rock for the Signals which he order'd to be made of the Event, in case the ordinary Messengers shou'd be stopp'd. Yet when Sejanus's Conspiracy was suppress'd, he was so far from being †† more fearless and assur'd, that for nine Months after,

* By the legal Constitution, no Person cou'd stand for the Consulship, or enter upon it, unless he was present in the City : But the Emperors were too powerful to be restrain'd by the antient Customs.

† Drusus was acceptable to the People ; and therefore Tiberius chose to employ him for their Leader, because by his Interest he might over-rule their Resentments, and prevent their being led on to any dangerous Enterprize against him. For tho' he hated Drusus, and pretended to be afraid of him ; yet at such a Crisis, he thought him the safest Person to be entrusted with so important a Charge.

†† Tiberius was naturally suspicious, and considering the Number of Sejanus's Friends and Dependents, might apprehend some of them wou'd endeavour to revenge his Death. He was now also in Fears, and consequently his Jealousies increas'd upon him : Beside, the Consciousness of his Cruelties, unavoidably fill'd him with perpetual Fears, and justly made him his own Tormentor.

Penna

after, he never stir'd out of the Town call'd
Villa Jovis.

66. The Reproaches which were also thrown up-
on him from every side, stung his Mind to the
Quick; for † all condemn'd Offenders tax'd him
with the vilest Crimes, either to his Face, or by
Libels dispers'd in the † Orchestra in the Theatre.
The Impressions these Reflections made upon him,
were different; for sometimes he endeavour'd to
stifle and conceal them out of Shame, and at other
times he wou'd despise them and publish them him-
self. But he was cut to the Soul by a Letter of *Ma-
rbanus* the King of the *Parthians*; who told him se-
verely of his Parricides, Murders, Sloth and Luxu-
ry, and advis'd him immediately to satisfy the furi-
ous

Pœna autem yehemens, ac multo savior illis, &c.
Juv. Sat. 13.

Not sharp Revenge, nor Hell it self can find
A fiercer Torment than a guilty Mind;
Which Day and Night does dreadfully accuse;
Condemns the Tyrant, and the Charge returns.

Mr. Creech.

† It is not easy to explain, how the Malefactors cou'd
have an Opportunity to cast their Libels into the Senators
Seats in the Theatre. Some of them, who perhaps were sen-
tenc'd to be expos'd to the Beasts, or to fight in mortal
Combat on the Stage, might do it: But that does not re-
move the Difficulty of this Passage; for *Suetonius* says,
it was done by all sorts of Criminals, without Distinction:
*Nullo non damnatorum omne probri genus ingeren-
te, &c.* It may not be improper to observe here, that *Sue-
tonius* seems to affect this manner of Expression; for in
the Beginning of the next Paragraph he says, *tantum non
summam malorum suorum professus est*, tho' it is un-
natural and perplex'd.

† The Senators Seats. See the Note p. 97.

ous and most just Hatred of the People, by a voluntary Death.

67. He became at last quite weary of himself, and in the Beginning of one of his Letters, has strongly express'd the Height of his Miseries: *What shall I write to you, Honourable Fathers? Or how shall I write? Or indeed at present what shall I not write? May all the Gods and Goddesses make me perish worse than I feel my self perish every Day, if I am able to resolve.* * Some are of Opinion, that by his Skill in future Events he fore-knew these Things, and saw long before-hand the Calamities and Disgrace which wou'd one Day overtake him; and that it was for this Reason he so obstinately refus'd to assume the Empire, with the Appellation of *PATER PATRIÆ, FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY*, and to let them swear to his Acts, lest it shou'd afterwards be a greater Infamy to him, to be found undeserving of so high an Honour. And this may be collected from an Oration he made upon both these Occasions; where he says, *That he shou'd always be like himself, and never change the Tenor of his Department, as long as he had the Use of his Senses.* But for the Sake of the Precedent it ought not to be admitted, that the Senate shou'd bind themselves to the Acts of any Person, who might possibly, by some Accident or other, take a different Turn. And again, *if you shou'd at any time doubt concerning my Inclinations, and the Intention of my Mind, which is wholly devoted to your Service; I wish Death may put a Period to my Days, before I see such an Alteration of your Opinion.* The Style of *FATHER* will then add no Honour to me, but will be a Reflection upon you, either for Rashness in giving me the Title, or for Inconstancy in changing your Judgment concerning me.

68 His

* The Tiberius was strongly addicted to Astrology, and was therefore liable to be influenc'd by the imaginary Prognostications of the Art; yet Suetonius has given a better Reason of his Refusal, p. 190, &c. and shewn that it proceeded from Wariness and Cunning.

68. His Body was large and strong, and his Stature beyond a just Size: He was broad in the Shoulders and Breast, and equally proportion'd in his other Parts quite down to the Feet. His Left-Hand was the most useful and vigorous; and his Joints were so firm, and strung so well, that he wou'd push thro' a green sound Apple with his Finger, and make a Wound on the Head of a Boy, or even of a Youth, with a Fillip. He was of a fair Complexion, and his Hair hung so low behind that it cover'd his Neck, which seem'd to be a thing peculiar to his Family. He had a graceful Aspect, tho' he was subject to frequent and sudden Swellings in the Face. His Eyes were very large, and, which is wonderful, cou'd * see by Night, even in the dark; but it was only for a little while at his first Waking out of Sleep, afterwards they grew dim again. † He carry'd his Neck erect and without Motion. He had a sullen Countenance, and was generally silent; seldom or never holding Discourse with his nearest Friends, and speaking very slow, and with an effeminate Motion of his Fingers. All which Circumstances, which were displeasing and full of Arrogance, *Augustus* observ'd in him, and often endeavour'd to excuse to the Senate and People, alledging they were Defects of Nature, and not of the Mind. He had a very happy State of Health, which was hardly ever disorder'd thro' the whole Time of his Reign; tho'

* Scaliger, the Sen, observes that his Father was endow'd with a Quality of the like Nature: His Eyes, he says, were blew, and cou'd sometimes see as well by Night, as Men can in a Twilight; and that himself also was able to do the same, till his Twenty-third Year; after which that Power forsook him.

† All these Circumstances evidently argu'd a Disposition haughty and malignant, and were very unpopular, tho' *Augustus* endeavour'd to excuse them, and cover them by a favourable Construction.

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tho' from the thirtieth Year of his Age, he took the Care of it into his own Hands, without the Assistance or Advice of the Physicians.

69. With respect to the Gods and Matters of Religion, he was very * negligent, being addicted to Astrology, and fully persuaded that all Things were govern'd by † Fate. Yet he was extremely terrify'd at Thunder, and perpetually wore a Crown of Laurel upon his Head in tempestuous Weather, because the Leaves of that Tree are said to be never †† struck with Lightning.

70. He

* Augustus was not so devoted to Star-gazers and Wizards, as Tiberius was; but he was extravagantly superstitious, and regarded every trifling Accident as portending and ominous, with the same Weakness and Concern as the ignorant Vulgar. Suetonius when he mentions this Part of his Character, do's not censure him for Want of Religion, because these Things were a principal Part of the Pagan Religion, and were inculcated by the Augurs and Aruspices, who were the establish'd Priesthood, and to whom Augustus by this respectfully adher'd. It seems therefore, that the Irreligion of Tiberius, consisted in his neglecting the licens'd Soothsayers of his Country, and delivering himself up to the Astrologers and Erectors of Schemes, who were a Set of irregular Impostors, not constituted by the State, and whom the Heathen Priests represented as Contemners of the Gods and the sacred Rites, to render them odious with the People.

† By the Power and Influence of the Stars. The Belief of this naturally occasion'd him to despise the Gods.

†† Budæus justly rallies the Commentators, who gravely set themselves to support an Opinion ridiculous and false in Fact, with Reasons as fanciful and vain, instead of confessing the Absurdity of it. Perhaps the Romans had some Regard to this Notion, in the Custom of hanging up Crowns of Laurel at the Entrance of the Emperor's Palace:

Postibus

70. He studiously cultivated the Liberal Arts of
 † either Kind. In his *Latin* Orations he imitated *Cor-*
vinus Messala, whom he had form'd himself by in his
 Youth, *Corvinus* being then an old Man. But by
 † Affectation and too much Exactness, he render'd his
 Style obscure, so that he is thought to have express'd
 himself better sometimes *Extempore*, than when he took
 Pains. He compos'd a Lyric Poem, entitled, *A Com-*
plaint for the Death of Lucius Caesar; and wrote some
Greek Verses in Imitation of *Euphorion*, *Rhianus*, and
Parthenius, the Poets who pleas'd him most, placing
 their Writings and their : Images in the Publick
 Libraries

Postibus Augustis eadem fidissima custos
 Ante fores stabis; medianque tuebere quercum.
 Ovid.

Wreath'd on the Posts, before the Palace wait,
 And be the sacred Guardian of the Gate:
 Secure from Thunder, and unharm'd by Jove,
 Unsading as th' immortal Pow'rs above.

Mr. Dryden.

† of Greece and Rome.

Quintilian commends this Orator for the Purity and
 Dignity of his Style.

† Tiberius affected to use obsolete and uncommon Words
 in his Writing; a Fault for which Augustus very justly
 censur'd him, p. 132.

* It was a general Affectation with the Romans, to
 have Statues of the celebrated Authors of Antiquity in
 their Libraries.

Indocti primum: quanquam plena omnia gypso
 Chryippi invenias; nam perfectissimus horum est,
 Siquis Aristotelem similem, vel Pittacon emit,
 Et jubet archetypos plateam servare Cleanthas.

Juv. Sat. 2.

The Wretches too pretend to Learning: Why?
 Chryippus' Statue decks their Library.

Who

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Libraries among the ancient Authors of the first Rank; and therefore most of the learned Men of his Time, vy'd together in addressing to him several Treatises concerning them. But his Curiosity, by chiefly in understanding Fabulous History, which he carry'd even to Trifles and the most ridiculous Conceits: For he generally try'd the Grammarians, who were the Sort of Men, as we observ'd, he was most fond of, with such Questions as these; *Who was Hecuba's Mother? What Name did Achilles go by among the Virgins? What was the Song the Sirenes us'd to sing? And the first Day he came into the Senate*

*Who makes his Closet first, is most read;
The Dolt that with an Aristotle's Head
Caro'd to the Life, has once ador'd his Shelf,
Strait sets up for a Stagirite himself.*

Mr. Tate.

Achilles at the Desire of his Mother, who foresaw he would be slain if he went to the Siege of Troy, conceal'd himself among a Company of Virgins, disguis'd in their Habit, and mixing with them in Spinning, and other Female Work, till Ulysses discover'd him by a Stratagem, and perswaded him to go with them to the War.

Præscia venturi genitrix Nereia leti, &c.

Ovid.

*Thetis, who knew the Fates, apply'd her Care
To keep Achilles in Disguise from War;
And, till the threat'ning Influence were past,
A Woman's Habit on the Hero cast.
All Eyes were rous'd by the borrow'd Vest,
And Ajax (never wiser than the rest)
Found no Pelides there: At length I came
With press'd Wares to this pretended Dame;
She, not discover'd by her Mien or Voice,
Betray'd her Manhood by her Manly Choice,*

And

Who

nate after *Augustus's* Death, as if he wou'd perform the Offices of † Filial Duty and of Religion at once, he sacrific'd with Frankincense and Wine, but had no Musick at the Rites; after the Example of *Mimn*, who had done so upon the Death of his Son.

71. Tho' he was a Master of the Greek Language, and spoke it readily, yet he never introduc'd it into his common Discourse; Especially in the Senate he shunn'd it so strictly, that going once to mention the Word *Monopolium*, he first ask'd Pardon for using a foreign Word before them. And when the Word *Amblema* was recited in a Decree of the House, he mov'd to have it chang'd for one of our own; or if there was no single Word in our Language to answer it, that the Thing shou'd be express'd by several in a Circumlocution. He also forbid a *Grecian* Soldier who was examin'd as an Evidence, to make his Answers unless in *Latia*.

72. During his Retirement, he attempted to return to *Rome* only twice. Once he was brought in a Barge as far as the Gardens near which the Sea-Fights are represented, a Guard being plac'd on the Banks

*And while on Female Toys her Fellows look,
Grass'd in her Warlike Hand a Javelin shook;
Whom by this Act reveal'd, I thus bespoke:
" O Goddess born! resist not Heav'n's Decree,
" The Fall of Ilium is reserv'd for Thee;
Then seiz'd him, and produc'd in open Light,
Sent blushing to the Field the fatal Knight.*

Mr. Dryden.

† He shew'd his Devotion to the Gods, by making a Sacrifice of Frankincense and Wine, and his Affection to *Augustus*, by not having Musick at the Offering: For the Heathens generally accompanying their Rites with Musick, the celebrating them without it, express'd the deepest Sorrow and Dejection.

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Banks of the Tiber, to keep * off any who might come to meet him: Another time, he advanc'd in the Appian Road within seven Miles of the City, and having view'd the Walls only, turn'd back without entering them. It is uncertain what was the Cause of his first Return; but the last was occasion'd by an Omen which made him afraid. For going to feed a † creeping Dragon which he was very fond of, with his own Hand, according to his Custom, he found it devour'd by Ants; upon which he was advis'd to beware of the Power of the †† Multitude. Posting back therefore to *Compenia* in a Hurry, he fell ill at *Xastura*; and recovering a little, held out to *Civita*. And not to create a Suspicion of his being indispos'd, he was present at the Military Games, and even encounter'd a Wild Boar which was turn'd in upon the Area, with Javelins; but straining his Side in the Struggle, and being expos'd to the open Air while he was all over in a Sweat, he relaps'd into a worse Condition. Yet he bore up under it for some Time; and tho' he was carry'd as far as *Misenum*, omitted nothing of his daily Customs, not even his Feasting and his other Pleasures; partly out of Intemperance, and partly out of Dissimulation. For *Charicles* the Physician being oblig'd to leave him for a while, took up his Hand to kiss it at his Departure; and *Tiberius* thinking he had felt

M his

* Either from Fear of some Design against his Person, or from the Idiosyncrasy of his Temper, which made him shun familiar Salutations.

† *Serpens Draco*, to distinguish it from another Species of Dragons which fly.

†† Represented by the Swarm of Ants.

X An Island in Italy, made by a River of that Name and the Adriatic Sea.

his Pulse, * call'd upon him to stay and make one at the Table, and continu'd the Entertainment till very late. Nor when the Company broke up, did he lay aside his usual Practice; but standing in the Middle of the Room with a Lister by him, he saluted every Man by Name as they took their Leave.

73. In the mean time reading in the Acts of the Senate, that certain Criminals concerning whom he had written briefly to them, only setting down their Names, were dismiss'd, and not so much as brought to a Hearing; he was irritat'd at the Contempt put upon him by it, and resolv'd by all means to make his Way back to Capree, not daring to attempt any thing till he was in a Place of Security. But being detain'd by Tempests, and by the Violence of his Distemper which increas'd upon him, he expir'd shortly after in * Lucullus's Villa, in the Seventy-eighth Year of his Age, and the Twenty-third of his Reign, on the † Seventeenth of the Kalends of April, Cn. Acronius Prætor and Pontius Niger being Consuls. Some are of Opinion, that †† Caligula gave him a slow Inguishing Poyson; others, that they deny'd him Food when he call'd for it in the Intermission of his Fever; and several think they stifled him with a Pillow, when upon his recovering out of a Swoon, he enquir'd after his Ring which they had taken from him in his Fit. *Seneca* writes, That finding him-
self

* Either for fear Charicles shou'd publish his Illness abroad, or from a Fancy that he might be persuaded to think him in a better Condition than he imagin'd, by seeing him sit up late at the Banquet, and exert himself so much with the Company.

* The Villa of Lucullus was one of the most magnificent and costly of any among the Romans. See his Life in Plutarch.

† March 16th.

†† Caligula, who succeeded him.

self fainting, he pull'd off his Ring, and held it a while as if he wou'd deliver it to some body; and putting it upon his Finger again, and grasping his Left-Hand fast, lay for a long Time without Motion; and then calling on a sudden for his Servants, and receiving no Answer, he got up, and his Strength failing, fell down a little Way from the Bed.

74. Having brought the Statue of *Apello Temenites*, which was very large, and a noble Piece of Work, to *Syrause* upon his last Birth-Day, in order to place it in the Library of the new Temple, he saw the God in a Dream, who assur'd him, His Image cou'd not be dedicated by him. And a few Days before his Death, the Watch-Tower at *Caprea* was thrown down by an Earthquake. And at *Misenum*, the Coals which were brought in to sire the Chamber, * became extinct; and having lain dead for some Time, blaz'd out again suddenly at the Beginning of the Evening, and continu'd burning till late at Night.

75. The People were so overjoy'd at his Death, that upon the first News of it, they ran up and down, some crying, *Throw him into the Tiber*, and others besought *Mother Earth* and the *Infernal Gods*, to allow him no Place below but among the guilty Spirits; and some threaten'd to drag his Carcass with a Hook, and throw it on the *Gemonian Gibbet*. For beside the Remembrance of his former Cruelty, they were exasperated by a fresh Provocation. A Decree of the Senate having appointed, that the Punishment of Condemn'd Persons shou'd always be delay'd for ten Days, it happen'd to be the Day for the Execution

M 2

of

* Perhaps they interpreted this Circumstance thus; The Coals being brought into the Emperor's Bed-Chamber, and going out there, signify'd the Emperor himself shou'd expire; and their reviving again in the Evening, and burning late, referr'd to the Fire of his Funeral Pile to consume his Body; because that was kindled at Night, and continu'd burning a long Time.

The LIFE of

same, when the Advice came concerning *Tiberius's* Death: Wherefore as the Criminals were imploring Pardon, the Officers in *Caesar's* Absence having no Body to apply to for an Authority to suspend the Sentence, strangled them and cast them upon the *Germanicus* Gallows. This inflam'd the Hatred of the People, as if the Tyrant's Inhumanity continu'd even after he was dead. His Body was carry'd to Rome by the Soldiers, and burnt with a Publick Funeral; a great many crying out as they began to remove it from *Misenum*, That it ought rather to be carry'd to *Atella*, and be smouldred there in the Amphitheatre.

76. He had made two Draughts of his Will, about two Years before; of which one was written by his own Hand, and the other by the Hand of his Freedman, but the Contents of both were the same; and he had them witness'd by some of the meanest Condition. By this he left *Caesar*, his Grandson by *Germanicus*, and *Tiberius*, his Grandson also by *Drusus*, equal Heirs; and in case either fail'd, appointed the Survivor to inherit the whole. He gave Legacies also to most, and, among others, to the Vestal Virgins; to all the Soldiers, and to the Roman People Man by Man, and to the Masters of the Wards by themselves.

* A Town of Campania, infamous for Lewdness: They were the Inventors of an Interlude which receiv'd its Name from them. Calanbon justly explains this Saying to mean, that as *Tiberius* had turn'd his Back upon Rome, his Body ought not to have the Honour of being carry'd thither to be burnt with the usual Rites; but shou'd be sent to a Town of that Quarter which he had chosen for the Scene of his Debaucheries, and be half consum'd there in the Theatre, like the Carcass of a Malefactor.

† *Tiberius* was oblig'd to adopt *Germanicus*, by *Augustus's* Recommendation.

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